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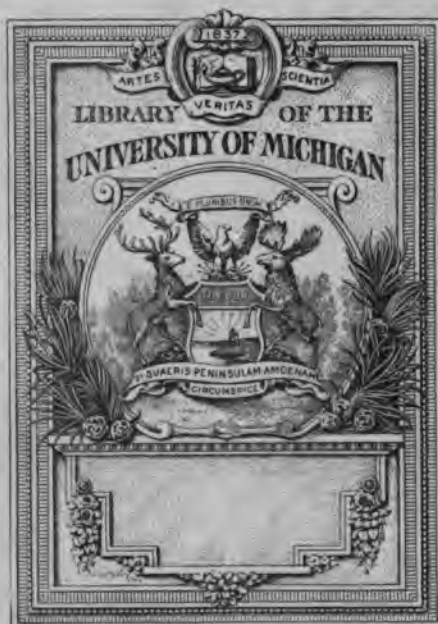
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DINGS

AQUARIAN



**PROCEEDINGS**  
**OF THE**  
**AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN**  
**SOCIETY.**

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COMMITTEE OF PUBLICATION.

---

EDWARD E. HALE.  
NATHANIEL PAINE.

CHARLES A. CHASE.  
CHARLES C. SMITH.

*q. a.*

**PROCEEDINGS**  
**OF THE**  
**AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.**

**NEW SERIES, VOL. XVI.**

**OCTOBER 1903—OCTOBER 1904.**



**WORCESTER:**  
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## NOTE.

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The sixteenth volume, *New Series*, contains the *Proceedings of the Society*, from October 21, 1903, to October 21, 1904, inclusive. Also the action of the Council on the deaths of Henry S. Nourse, Egbert C. Smyth and George F. Hoar.

The reports of the Council have been presented by Henry S. Nourse, Edmund A. Engler, Samuel S. Green, Charles A. Chase, Nathaniel Paine and Edward E. Hale.

Contributions have been made by Andrew McF. Davis, Alexander F. Chamberlain, Roger B. Merriman, Edward E. Hale, George H. Haynes, James F. Hunnewell, Samuel S. Green, William D. Lyman, Calvin Stebbins, George F. Hoar and J. Henry Lea.

Also obituary notices of J. Evarts Greene, John Bellows, Elijah B. Stoddard, Henry S. Nourse, Andrew H. Green, Duke of Argyll, Moses Coit Tyler, William Stubbs, Bishop of Oxford, Edward Eggleston, Horace Gray, Joseph Williamson, Archbishop Frederick Temple, William E. H. Lecky, Prof. Theodor Mommsen, H. E. von Holst, Leslie Stephen, Henry W. Taft, John W. Powell, Egbert C. Smyth and Benjamin F. Stevens.

Most of these notices were prepared by our Biographer, Samuel Utley.

COMMITTEE OF PUBLICATION.

#### **ERRATA.**

**Page 6, line 25, insert the word *Colonel* before *Timothy*.**

**Page 48, line 10, for *December, 1885*, read *April, 1856*.**

**Page 65, line 33, for *1889* read *1887*.**

**Page 71, line 1, for *1886* read *1887*.**

**Page 77, line 23, for *Owens* read *Owen*.**

**Page 85, line 20, for *82* read *8*.**

**Page 208, line 34, for *Faunce's* read *Fraunce's*.**

**Page 330, line 34, for *Céleron* read *Ciloron*.**

**Page 331, lines 9 and 19, for *Céleron* read *Ciloron*.**

**Page 332, line 4, after *Boston* add *in Library of Congress*.**

**Page 334, line 6, for *1821* read *1831*.**



## PROCEEDINGS.

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ANNUAL MEETING, OCTOBER 21, 1903, AT THE HALL OF THE  
SOCIETY IN WORCESTER.

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THE meeting was called to order at 10:30 A. M., by the  
President, Hon. STEPHEN SALISBURY.

The following members were present:

Edward E. Hale, George F. Hoar, Nathaniel Paine,  
Stephen Salisbury, Samuel A. Green, Edward L. Davis,  
William A. Smith, James F. Hunnewell, Egbert C. Smyth,  
Edward H. Hall, Charles C. Smith, Edmund M. Barton,  
Franklin B. Dexter, Charles A. Chase, Samuel S. Green,  
Andrew McF. Davis, Solomon Lincoln, Henry S. Nourse,  
Daniel Merriman, William B. Weeden, Henry H. Edes,  
George E. Francis, G. Stanley Hall, William E. Foster,  
Charles P. Greenough, Francis H. Dewey, Calvin Stebbins,  
Henry A. Marsh, Frederick A. Ober, William DeL. Love,  
Leonard P. Kinnicutt, George H. Haynes, Charles L.  
Nichols, Waldo Lincoln, John Noble, George B. Adams,  
George P. Winship, Austin S. Garver, A. Lawrence Rotch,  
Samuel Utley, E. Harlow Russell, Benjamin T. Hill, Henry  
F. Jenks, Edmund A. Engler, Alexander F. Chamberlain,  
William MacDonald, Roger B. Merriman.

The records of the previous meeting were approved.

The first part of the report of the Council was read by  
the Recording Secretary.

In connection with the report, the Hon. HENRY S. NOURSE read a paper entitled, "Some Notes upon the Genesis of the Power Loom in Worcester County."

A biographical sketch of the late JEREMIAH EVARTS GREENE was presented by Rev. Dr. DANIEL MERRIMAN.

A sketch of JOHN BELLOWS, late of Gloucester, England, was read by Vice-President GEORGE F. HOAR.

A tribute to the Hon. ELIJAH BRIGHAM STODDARD was given by Prof. E. HARLOW RUSSELL.

Senator HOAR remarked: "There is one thing I would like to say, and I think, perhaps, as the lifelong friend of Colonel Stoddard since we were boys together at the Harvard Law School, I have a right to say it,—I do not believe—I certainly do not think of one—that there is a living author, either American or English, competent to have made that beautiful and faithful portraiture of his character to which we have just listened from Mr. Russell."

The report of the Treasurer was presented by NATHANIEL PAINE, A.M.

Mr. EDMUND M. BARTON submitted his report as Librarian.

Dr. GEORGE B. ADAMS of New Haven and Dr. WILLIAM MACDONALD of Providence, acting as a committee to collect ballots for the election of President, announced the unanimous re-election of Hon. STEPHEN SALISBURY.

A committee consisting of Dr. SAMUEL A. GREEN of Boston, CHARLES P. GREENOUGH of Brookline and A. LAWRENCE ROTCH of Boston, was appointed to retire and report a list of the other officers. The following were nominated and duly elected:—

*Vice-Presidents:*

HON. GEORGE FRISBIE HOAR, LL.D., of Worcester.  
REV. EDWARD EVERETT HALE, D.D., of Roxbury.

*Council:*

HON. SAMUEL ABBOTT GREEN, LL.D., of Boston.  
REV. EGBERT COFFIN SMYTH, D.D., of Andover.  
SAMUEL SWETT GREEN, A.M., of Worcester.  
HON. EDWARD LIVINGSTON DAVIS, A.M., of Worcester.  
GRANVILLE STANLEY HALL, LL.D., of Worcester.  
WILLIAM BABCOCK WEEDEN, A.M., of Providence,  
Rhode Island.  
HON. JAMES PHINNEY BAXTER, A.M., of Portland, Maine.  
HON. HENRY STEDMAN NOURSE, A.M., of Lancaster.  
CARROLL DAVIDSON WRIGHT, LL.D., of Worcester.  
EDMUND ARTHUR ENGLER, LL.D., of Worcester.

*Secretary for Foreign Correspondence:*

FRANKLIN BOWDITCH DEXTER, Litt.D., of New Haven,  
Connecticut.

*Secretary for Domestic Correspondence:*

CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, LL.D., of Lincoln.

*Recording Secretary:*

CHARLES AUGUSTUS CHASE, A.M., of Worcester.

*Treasurer:*

NATHANIEL PAINE, A.M., of Worcester.

*Committee of Publication:*

REV. EDWARD EVERETT HALE, D.D., of Roxbury.  
NATHANIEL PAINE, A.M., of Worcester.  
CHARLES AUGUSTUS CHASE, A.M., of Worcester.  
CHARLES CARD SMITH, A.M., of Boston.

*Auditors:*

AUGUSTUS GEORGE BULLOCK, A.M., of Worcester.  
BENJAMIN THOMAS HILL, A.B., of Worcester.

ANDREW MCFARLAND DAVIS, A.M., presented a paper giving the names of those persons in Worcester County who were borrowers, upon the securities of real estate, of the bills of the Land Bank of 1740.

Dr. ALEXANDER F. CHAMBERLAIN, of Clark University, read a paper on, "The Contributions of the American Indian to Civilization."

Senator GEORGE F. HOAR presented a "History of an Oaken Chest."

A paper, entitled "Edward Woodville, knight-errant; A Study of the Relations of England and Spain in the Latter Part of the Fifteenth Century," was read by Dr. ROGER B. MERRIMAN, of Harvard University.

It was voted to refer all the communications, together with the report of the Council, to the Committee of Publication.

The President suggested that he would like the assistance of the members of the Society, in volunteering papers and sending him notice in advance of the meeting, in that way lightening his labors.

Rev. Dr. EDWARD E. HALE remarked that he would bring forth the first fruits of the President's suggestion by saying that he has considerable correspondence from Ebenezer Adams, who was Preceptor of Leicester Academy 1792-1806. Dr. HALE said: "I have submitted it to one or two gentlemen here, who think there is a good deal of curiosity about the beginning of the 19th and end of the

18th centuries, and, with the entire assent of the lady who is now the proprietor of the correspondence, I would like to refer it to the Committee of Publication."

"I would say on my own behalf and on behalf of the Committee of Publication, that the Society is indebted more than it is aware of to the Ethnological Bureau of Washington for the promptness and skill with which they have published at their own expense the Trumbull Dictionary, which the gentlemen have seen here. I do not know as any vote is necessary, but I shall notify the gentlemen there that we are very much indebted to them. I was not aware until I came here this morning that they have completed the manuscript, and have sent it back to us. They have been kind enough to assume the cost of the entire two hundred volumes, and we have the advantage of this great dictionary of the Algonquin language, which we otherwise would not have had but for their exceeding liberality. Everything on their part has been as kind and courteous to us as could have been expected."

The meeting was dissolved. The members afterwards, by invitation, lunched with President SALISBURY.

CHARLES A. CHASE,

*Recording Secretary.*

## REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.

---

SINCE the meeting of April 29 in Boston, we have lost by death a member of thirty-eight years' standing: Elijah Brigham Stoddard, A.M. An appreciation of our associate will be presented by Professor E. Harlow Russell.

The long delayed Natick Dictionary, based upon the labors of our late associate, Dr. J. Hammond Trumbull, has been completed and the edition is to be distributed by the National Bureau of Ethnology.

In the report of the Librarian will be given details of the systematic growth and the increasing usefulness of our literary treasures, now crowding to repletion nearly all available space in this building.

In a paper upon the Land Titles of this Society, read at the April meeting in 1901, mention was made of the fact that John Adams, fresh from college, a student in the law office of James Putnam, taught the grammar school in the first schoolhouse built in Worcester, just in front of our present grounds. There has been some question as to whether he taught in this schoolhouse or in one which was built by Mr. Putnam and other gentlemen, which stood some half a mile to the southward. But careful investigation made it seem certain that the latter house was probably not built until after the future President had left the town. The local Timothy Bigelow Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution interested itself in the placing of a tablet which should commemorate the fact that Mr. Adams was once a teacher in the first schoolhouse of Worcester. And so, with the consent of the



Council, the tablet was placed upon the east face of the stone post at the southeast corner of our grounds. On the 23d day of May in the current year the tablet was unveiled, and public exercises were held in the church of the Second Parish, close at hand. Appropriate addresses were made by Mrs. DANIEL KENT, Regent of the local chapter; by the State Regent and the Vice-President of the National Society; G. STANLEY HALL, LL.D.; our Vice-President Mr. HOAR; and our Secretary for Foreign Correspondence, CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, the great-grandson of the village schoolmaster in whose honor the tablet was erected.

The Council shares with the Committee of Publication in their sense of loss through the death of one who had rendered them most valuable assistance in the publication of our Proceedings for more than thirty-four years. Mr. BENJAMIN J. DODGE of Worcester, who died on the 30th *ult.*, had been for fifty-four years the foreman and manager of the Charles Hamilton printing establishment. A native of Harpswell, Me., he came from Sutton, Mass., to Worcester, with his widowed mother, in 1842, and learned the art of printing. Four years later he bought a printing office, which he sold, after a few years, to Albert Tyler and Charles Hamilton. (Mr. Tyler is still living at a green old age). He retained his connection with it until his death, which came suddenly, but not without warning. Our Proceedings had been printed at the office of John Wilson & Son in Boston from April, 1854, to April, 1867, inclusive, and from Oct., 1867, to Oct., 1868, inclusive, at a Worcester office. The work of the latter was not up to the desired standard, and so in April, 1869, it was given to Mr. Hamilton, either on the condition or with the promise that the work should be done "as well as it could be done in Boston." Under the intelligent supervision of Mr. Dodge the condition or the promise was fulfilled. But Mr. Dodge's work was not simply mechanical. Though he had had

only such an education as the common schools could give the children of sixty years ago, he was gifted with a native intelligence, which aided him in a self-education which made his services most valuable to the authors of any literary work which passed under his eye; and many a contributor to our Proceedings has been indebted to him for the modest query or gentle suggestion which corrected a *lapsus pennæ* or even an error in fact. His nature was sweet and lovable.

Mr. Dodge probably would have declined membership in this Society if it had been tendered to him; but such service as he gave us for so long a time should not go without appreciative recognition.

**Jeremiah Evarts Greene**, the fourth of the twelve children of Rev. David and Mary (Evarts) Greene, was born in Boston Nov. 27th, 1834. His father, for many years the secretary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, was of sturdy English ancestry, which his son in after life delighted to trace. His mother was the granddaughter of the distinguished Roger Sherman of Connecticut. Her father and the father of William M. Evarts, United States Senator and Secretary of State, was Jeremiah Evarts, a great temperance reformer, one of the founders of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions and an ardent friend of the Indians, a man of high intelligence and great force of character. Mr. Greene was thus descended on both sides from some of the best blood in New England.

When he was a child the family removed to Roxbury, and there at the noted Roxbury Latin School, the story of which he told in later years before this Society, he was fitted for college, entering first, at the age of fifteen, the New York University, but after a year there joining the sophomore class at Yale where he was graduated at nineteen in the famous class of 1853, which contained many men who afterwards won great distinction in life and whose friendship he retained.

For the first year after graduation he taught in an Episcopal school in Cheshire, Conn., and for the second year at Keosauqua, Iowa, where he met the difficulties

that faced a schoolmaster on what, at that time, was almost the frontier.

He then spent two years as a civil engineer in the employ of the U. S. government in the survey of land in Kansas, during which time he had some very trying experiences that tested his courage and endurance and which he was fond of relating to his friends.

In 1859 he returned to Massachusetts, his father's home being in Westborough, studied law, was admitted to the Worcester County Bar in 1860, and established himself at North Brookfield.

Here the outbreak of the Civil War found him, and with the fervid patriotism of his ancestors he was the first man to enlist in Worcester County, and actively aided in raising the 15th Mass. Regiment, in which he was commissioned First Lieutenant, Aug. 1, 1861.

He developed excellent capacities as a soldier and was in command of his company at the battle of Ball's Bluff, Oct. 21, 1861, where with other officers, he was taken prisoner and held at Libby Prison until Feb. 2, 1862, when he was released on parole. He was made Captain in the 15th Regiment June 17, 1862, but as his exchange as a paroled prisoner was delayed, he resigned on the 3rd of the following October and returned to his practice of law.

April 14th, 1864, he married Mary Anna, daughter of John G. and Henrietta (Kirtland) Bassett of New York, and granddaughter of Rev. Amos Bassett, D.D. Though a woman of much culture and charm, Mrs. Greene was for many years, and up to her death in 1897, a great sufferer from serious nervous disorders, which forbade her engaging in social duties. They had no children.

May 1, 1868, Mr. Greene removed to Worcester, became connected with the *Worcester Spy* and continued as its leading editorial writer for twenty-three years. During all this period, though a zealous citizen, interested in all good work, he lived an extremely retired and modest life, seldom appearing at public or private functions, working very hard for very small pay, but displaying such finish, lucidity, insight, knowledge and grasp, as a thinker and writer, that he was surpassed by none, and equalled by few, in the country as a leading editor.

In 1891, he was appointed postmaster at Worcester

and remained in that office under four presidents, until his death, eleven years later. One of these presidents, Mr. Cleveland, though of an opposite party, wrote a letter commending Mr. Greene, and refusing to disturb him.

When he first took the office some of his fellow citizens, who knew him only slightly as a quiet editor without executive experience, thought that he would prove to be a failure, or at best only a commonplace official. They lived to see him recognized on account of his industry, his non-partisanship, his inventiveness, his persistent energy, his mastery of details, his love of fair dealing and his extraordinary devotion to his work, as perhaps the best postmaster in the United States, his improvements formally urged on other postmasters by Mr. Wanamaker, and his office spoken of by President Roosevelt, on his visit to Worcester last year, as "the record postoffice" of the country.

Mr. Greene was twice appointed President of the Board of Directors of the Free Public Library of Worcester, in which, as well as in the park system of the city, he was greatly interested. He was one of the first to suggest and found the St. Wulstan Society, a social club of Worcester, was almost never absent from its meetings, and was its first, and up to the time of his death, its only secretary.

He was elected to membership in the American Antiquarian Society Oct. 22, 1883, and to its Council exactly five years later. He contributed to the Proceedings of the Society several papers of marked value.

After a short period of failing health during which with characteristic resolution, he kept up his work at the postoffice, Mr. Greene died in his sixty-eighth year, Nov. 8, 1902, of softening of the brain at Plainfield, N. J., while visiting his sister, the wife of Jeremiah Evarts Tracy, Esquire.

His funeral was attended from the Central Church, Worcester, by a very large concourse of his fellow citizens of all classes and ranks, who completely filled the church, thus manifesting in an unusual degree their sense of loss and their profound respect for this quiet, strong, cultured, high-souled public servant and citizen.

Mr. Greene was a finely proportioned man of more than medium height, with a very erect and soldierly carriage

and a thoughtful, kindly, but determined face. He was noticeable for his long, swift stride, as year after year, for more than a generation, he walked, cane in hand, with great regularity along Main street to and from his office with a favorite spaniel at his heels. Very unassuming and courteous in his manner, he had an air of quiet mastery, which together with his candor and kindness greatly won the confidence and esteem of his associates and employees.

He was an excellent classical, and a well disciplined scholar; a master of pure, exact and vigorous English; an occasional writer of clever verse; fond of rare books and curios; much interested in all historical questions; clear in thought; ready in wit; proud, without ostentation, of his ancestry, his college, his work, his country; a most loyal, companionable and affectionate friend and a zealous patriot and citizen.

Mr. Greene gave much thought to civic affairs and advocated several measures of reform, among them "Proportional Representation," upon which he wrote with force and discrimination. He was also all his life devoted to the improvement of the Indians and was a warm defender of their rights.

The prolonged invalidism of his wife to whom he was most tenderly attached, and who could not bear to have him leave her, cut him off from extended travel and from opportunities for fame and fortune which he was abundantly capable of filling; yet he never thought of complaining.

Though a brave soldier, rich in thrilling experiences of the Civil War and a cordial friend of old soldiers, he would never join the Grand Army of the Republic on account of his aversion to secret societies; but he was keenly interested in the proposed statue of General Devens, and at his death was a member of the Commission for its erection.

Mr. Greene was a Puritan in his tastes, his habits, his religious faith, and above all, in his exalted sense of duty. His ideals were lofty and uncompromising. He hated selfishness, deceit, fraud and impurity with a righteous wrath, and he was a man capable of any sacrifice in standing by the men and the measures that he believed to be in the right. This love of duty was the iron string that vibrated through all his character and conduct in

things great and small. This was his passion, his joy, his reward. This made him a worthy exemplar of the finest traits of the noble stock from which he sprang. This made us all see that he had in him the elements of true greatness and drew from the whole community a most striking demonstration of sincere admiration, honor and affection at his death.

An able, brave, unselfish, stainless gentleman with a life that is an inspiration to us all, he rests in peace.

D. M.

**John Bellows.** This delightful Englishman made but one visit to the United States. I do not know that any member of the Society ever saw him in England, except myself. He contributed but three papers to our Proceedings. Yet he had that rare quality which inspires men with attachment at first sight. No man ever spent an hour in his company without hearing some interesting fact or bit of wisdom to be remembered as long as he lived, and without carrying away with him the memory of a most attractive and impressive personality. So when we heard of John Bellows's death, we felt as if we had lost one of our oldest and dearest members.

The following are the principal events of his life:

John Bellows was born January 18, 1831, at Liskeard, Cornwall. He died May 5, 1902, at Upton Knoll, Gloucester, England. He was son of William Lamb Bellows and Hannah Bellows, his wife.

He was educated by his father, who was a schoolmaster.

In 1845 he was apprenticed to Llewellyn Newton, a printer, at Cambourne, Cornwall.

In 1851 he entered the employ of Harrison, the Queen's printer, in London. He left after a few months, by reason of ill health. In the same year he went to Gloucester and became manager of George Wait's printing office.

In 1858 he started business as a printer for himself.

January 14, 1869, he married Elizabeth Earnshaw, daughter of Mark Earnshaw (surgeon) of Clitheroe, Lancashire.

Nine children survive him: four sons and five daughters.



In 1870, during the Franco-German War, he visited France as one of the deputation from the Society of Friends to administer relief to the war victims.

In 1872 he published the first edition, of 6,000 copies, of his celebrated French Dictionary. The whole edition sold within a fortnight of publication.

In the same year he discovered the Roman Wall in Gloucester. That discovery led to great interest, on his part, in antiquarian research, especially in regard to the Roman occupation of Britain. He subsequently traced the wall around the city. He discovered this wall when building a new printing office (his business having largely increased), beneath which was a part of the Roman Wall, still in existence.

In 1876 he published the second edition of his French Dictionary.

From 1886 to 1892 he took a great and active interest in the Home Rule controversy, most vigorously and strongly supporting the Union side, as it was called. He distributed, mostly at his own expense, more than twenty tons of literature in leaflets and pamphlets. He carried on many newspaper controversies, and spoke at public meetings, being one of the most influential opponents of "Home Rule."

In 1892 and '93, he visited Russia with Joseph Neave, on behalf of the Stundists.

In 1896-97, he visited Bulgaria and Constantinople with his wife, to take relief from the Society of Friends to the persecuted Armenians.

From 1896 to the end of his life he took a prominent part in the work of the Society of Friends in helping the Donkhobors to emigrate from Russia, and in settling them in Canada.

In 1899 he visited Russia with Edmund Brooks, to plead with the authorities, on behalf of the Society of Friends, for those of the Donkhobors who were in exile in Siberia.

In the same year he visited Sweden with Edmund Brooks to plead for some men who were imprisoned for refusal of military service.

In the same year, 1899, he was one of the deputation from the Society of Friends to the Hague Conference.

In 1901 he visited the United States, where he made many friendships. During this visit he received the degree of Master of Arts from Harvard University.

#### PUBLICATIONS.

Outline Dictionary for the use of Students, with prefaces by Professor Max Müller and Professor Summers. Published 1868 and 1869.

Pocket French Dictionary. 1st edition published 1872. 2nd edition published 1876.

#### *Pamphlets.*

The Track of the War around Metz. Published after the Franco-German War.

On the Ancient Wall of Gloucester and some Roman Remains found in proximity to it, in 1873. (Proceedings of the Cotteswold Naturalists' Field Club, Vol. VI.)

Notes on Offa's Dyke; the Black Rock at New Passage; and Caldicot Castle. (Proceedings Cotteswold Club, Vol. VI.)

On some Archæological Remains in Gloucester Relating to the burning of Bishop Hooper. (Read at the annual meeting of the Cotteswold Club. Proceedings Cotteswold Club, Vol. VII.)

William Lucy and his Friends of the Cotteswold Club, Five and Thirty years ago. (Proceedings, Cotteswold Club, Vol. XI.)

Evolution in the Monastic Orders. Roman Work at Chepstow. Roman Remains at Bath. (Proceedings, Cotteswold Club, Vol. XIII.)

Survivals of Roman Architecture in Britain. (Proceedings, Cotteswold Club, Vol. XIII.)

On the Past in the Present in Asia. (Proceedings American Antiquarian Society, April, 1894.) (Read afterward before the Cotteswold Club, and printed in Proceedings, Cotteswold Club, Vol. XI.)

The Forest of Dean. (Proceedings American Antiquarian Society, October, 1899.)

The England of the Time of the War of Independence. (Proceedings American Antiquarian Society, October, 1901.) (Afterward read before Cotteswold Club, and published in Proceedings of the Cotteswold Club, Vol. XIV.)

Roman Wareham and the Claudian Invasion. (Dorset National History and Antiquarian Field Club, Vol. XIII.)

The Roman Wall of Gloucester. (Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society, Vol. I., 1876.)

On some bronze and other articles found near Birdlip. (Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society, Vol. V.)

Remarks on Skeletons found at Gloucester in 1881. (Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Society, Vol. V.)

The Romans in Gloucestershire. (Cheltenham Natural Science Society, Session, 1899-1900.)

Chisel Drafted Stones at Jerusalem. (Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement, July, 1896.)

Ritualism or Quakerism?

The Browns of Bartonburg. (Friends' Quarterly Examiner, 1899.)

Prayer. (Friends' Quarterly Examiner.)

The Truth about the Transvaal War. (Translated into French and German.) *New York Tribune*.

*Letters and articles in newspapers, etc., afterwards printed as leaflets, etc.*

Why I ought not to keep Christmas.

The Meditation of the Virgin.

Letters to the Students of the Penn Charter School, Philadelphia.

A Russian Railway Journey in Winter.

Daniel Wheeler's farm at Shushare.

The Georgian Road Through the Caucasian Mountains.

Alexander III.

Oliver Wendell Holmes.

Prince Louis Lucien Buonaparte.

Overtrained Free Trade.

Letter to *New York Tribune*,—"How Boer Women and Children are treated." (Reprinted as a leaflet by the Women's Liberal Unionist Association.)

Letter to Senator Hoar, in *New York Tribune*. (Reprinted, as above by Women's L. U. Association.) &c. &c. &c.

The news of his death was received with profound sorrow in England, where he had a very wide circle of friends, including many famous men of science, and men of letters. He took great satisfaction in his friendship with Leslie Stephen, the accomplished editor of the Dictionary of National Biography; as well as in that of Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes, who had been his guest in England, and with whom he had corresponded for many years; and that of Andrew D. White, lately the accomplished Ambassador to Germany.

Mr. Bellows was a very good correspondent. His letters were written in the careful style formerly cultivated by eminent men who had reason to expect that their lives would be written, and their letters would form an important part of their biography. I will not yield to the temptation to make many extracts from them until the Memoir, now in preparation in England, shall appear.

The following was written when he got the news of the death of President McKinley:

"Upton Knoll, Gloucester,  
14. 9. 1900

MY DEAR FRIEND,

Ah this is indeed heavy news that reaches us, that after all our hopes President McKinley has died!

I am certain that the feeling in England is not almost, but absolutely as deep as that in America in the presence of this great sorrow! We lose all sight of differences that lie on the surface of things—all sense of distance that separates our countries, in the one overwhelming thought of the wantonly cruel act that has cut off President McKinley so suddenly—so undeservedly—from the life that is at best but so brief for all of us. We cannot find many words to give utterance to at such a moment—but every heart in this nation—nay in every nation in Europe, will give you its silent sympathy in your trouble.

Believe me thy friend

JOHN BELLOWS."

I had one of especial interest, from which I give an extract, written when he was lying on what I suppose he knew was his death-bed, in which he speaks of himself as cheered in the long hours by listening to the wind as it sweeps over Cotteswold Hills and the beautiful historic valley, of which his house commanded a view, including the towers of Hereford and Gloucester and Worcester and Tewkesbury, the scene of Cromwell's famous battles, and the heights of Malvern, whose signal-fire announced the approach of the Armada.

"Till twelve fair counties saw the blaze on Malvern's lonely hill."

"As I write in my room, up stairs, I have been wishing thy wife could have such invalid quarters as mine, with all this wide reach of landscape to look out on, and with the sound of the breeze coming through the open window; I was going to say, in music; but it is in something more than music. It comes sweeping through the trees gathering up tones that are different, from different species. The sound in the leafless beeches is sweet, but it is not the same sound as in the foliage of the fir-trees, and so on. A being of larger faculties than ours would therefore comprehend *more*, in listening to the wind, than we do; he would *see* a tune played on all the trees and shrubs over which it swept, as on a multitudinously-stringed instrument. I can apprehend, though I cannot comprehend such an effect, from watching the play of the sunlight on the towers in the different parts of the landscape. They shine white, and fade and disappear in response to the play of the clouds, and come again, like the notes of music in some vast concert, that are varied by the composer so as never to recur in the same order, and yet never to fail of rhythmic beauty. Such a larger-powered being as I have hinted at would take in more than the differences of *sort* in the tree-sounds; he would discern their individual faculties, just as I see differences in towers and spires that are many miles away. Thus, there is a lovely Lombardy poplar not far from my window—one that I planted some years ago. At sunrise all the leafless twigs are golden in color, but near the tip there is one branch

that stands away from the rest, of course giving a variant note to the wind that sweeps over it. No doubt when the tree was younger some starling or homeward-bound rook rested in the twig that was not then strong enough to bear his weight, and so he gave the plant this set for all time. I used to think it would be well to cut off this branch for the sake of uniformity; but I could not reach it. Now I would rather have it as it is. And is it not so in life? We are too fearful of divergences."

He could distinguish the varieties of the trees by the sound of the wind through their branches. I thought at first this was a discovery of his own. But I find that George Herbert and Walter Scott had noticed the same thing before him.

Herbert says in his poem called "Providence":

"Trees would be tuning on their native Lute  
To thy Renown."

In Mrs. Hemans's delightful account of her visit to Sir Walter Scott, she says:

"On the way back, we talked a good deal of trees. I asked Sir Walter if he had not observed that every tree gives out its own peculiar sound to the wind. He said he had, and suggested to me that something might be done by the union of music and poetry to imitate those voices of trees, giving a different measure and style to the oak, the pine, the willow, etc. He mentioned a Highland Air of somewhat similar character, called 'The Notes of the Sea-Birds.'"

Our Proceedings of April 29, 1903, contained an interesting account of the meeting held at the Guildhall, on the occasion of the unveiling of a portrait of John Bellows, and the presenting of the picture to the Corporation of the City. The Earl of Ducie, Lord Lieutenant of the County, presided, and his speech and that of the other eminent gentlemen who took part in the meeting, showed the warm affection and high esteem in which Mr. Bellows was held at home.

G. F. H.

**Elijah Brigham Stoddard.** The mere annals of the life of our late associate are not remarkable or significant except as they are strikingly typical of a career not uncommon in the history of New England communities, namely: birth in a rural neighborhood, a childhood spent among self-supporting and self-respecting people, and in the companionship of nature, the rudiments of book learning acquired in the ungraded district school of the earlier half of the last century, the habit of filial obedience and servicableableness in small

things inculcated and more or less ingrained by the home life of the time, such expansion of youthful ambition and capacity as to suggest a more liberal education in academy and perhaps college, the adoption of a profession, then migration to a larger field and assumption of graver responsibilities, and at length the attainment of a degree of prominence or distinction. This is a story which has been repeated thousands of times in our New England history, as indeed elsewhere, and though not unfamiliar, is never commonplace or uninteresting. A large proportion of the leading men of our cities have long been of this type, and we have great faith in such a mode of development, as being sound and wholesome. The simplicity and seclusion of country life afford a soil in which the germs of character may take deep root and enjoy an unforced growth before being subjected to the strain of complex and competitive social conditions.

The outline just sketched was filled in with unusual completeness by the career of our friend, whose sudden though not untimely departure—called, as he was, while on the post of duty—has been so generally and deeply felt in the sphere in which he moved. It was almost as if his voyage of life had been laid out beforehand on the chart of time, and pursued under fair skies and with few adverse winds, to the end. His life was far enough, indeed, from being one of idleness or ease, but it encountered no disaster and was never much deflected from its main course. This may have been due in part to favoring circumstances—to what is called good fortune; but I suspect it was far more the result of a “well-tempered frame,” and a stable character and purpose, formed in early youth, or perchance inherited from ancestral sources. I think that most of those who knew him felt in Colonel Stoddard the presence of a mental and moral poise and force that could not be traced to his acquirements or to any advantages of position which he enjoyed. He himself had a hand in making most of the circumstances that contributed to his success; and this he accomplished by the exercise of a very simple but very difficult art. He once said, in speaking of his success as an angler, that it was not due to the nice selection or casting of flies or to any of the refined accomplishments that fishermen most plume themselves upon, but to the fact that he “made longer days at it” than most men, an illustration, I think, of the great commonsense which in larger affairs enabled him by persistent use of the simplest means to do so much and do it so well.

The public notices that appeared at the time of his death record in permanent and accessible form many details and

dates that need not be repeated here. It will be sufficient to note in succession and very briefly a few of the principal stages of his long and busy life.

Born in the town of Upton, Massachusetts, in 1826, he had the advantage of a strong ancestry, both parents being descended from good old Revolutionary stock. The father, whose scriptural name and whose military title the son bore, not without justifiable pride, was one of the leading citizens in that quarter of the state, and is described by a discriminating biographer as "a man of indomitable energy and uncompromising integrity," qualities inherited by the son in such measure as to indicate no deficiency of character on the mother's side.

Just what influence determined the boy's direction towards college does not distinctly appear, but the serious work of preparation, chiefly at Phillips Exeter Academy, resulted in his admission to Brown University in 1843, at the age of seventeen, and his graduation in due course, four years later. He certainly lost no time in choosing a profession, for he was admitted to the bar after two years' pupillage, having found time to teach the classics a little, while pursuing his law studies.

In 1852 the young lawyer allied himself by marriage to one of the leading families of Worcester, with which he became further connected in the following year by a professional partnership with his father-in-law, Honorable Isaac Davis. This connection undoubtedly led him into larger interests and considerably modified his subsequent course.

From about this date his participation in the more important affairs of city, county and state became marked and constant. Elections and appointments to offices of responsibility and honor multiplied upon him. He was in turn district attorney, city solicitor, a member of each branch of the city government and of each house of the state legislature; he served in the governor's council and on the governor's staff; he was the first commander of the most important local military organization, and at the outbreak of the Civil War, though anxious to enter active service, he yielded his place to his friend Devens. He served the city for nine years as a member of the school board, a considerable portion of the time as chairman of the high school committee; was for many years a trustee of Brown University (his *alma mater*); and for the last twenty-five years of his life an active and influential member of the state board of education, attending its meetings with great punctuality and serving on several of its most important committees.

The year 1882 marks perhaps the highest point of his pub-

lic service, when as mayor of Worcester he displayed characteristic sagacity and energy in solving several municipal problems of magnitude and difficulty.

It was probably in the management of large corporate interests that Colonel Stoddard's ability was most generally recognized by his fellow citizens. Here he had few equals; and yet, I am informed that the distinguishing characteristics of his policy and methods were simplicity and directness of procedure, guided and controlled by a general conservatism of action. He was not without originality in devising ways and means, for he was possessed of great tact, and, like Odysseus, seldom lacked ingenious and effective devices; but he never let his means mislead him or obscure the end in view. His foresight was instinctive and habitual and was generally accurate.

Of many interests and activities that engaged his earnest attention—political, religious, philanthropic, social, domestic—there is not time, and perhaps not occasion, for me to speak. For more than threescore years he led a life of varied and incessant activity, and I believe it is not too much to say that in all the manifold relations which he sustained—to friends, associates and the community at large—he bore a manly part.

Undoubtedly, in social and business intercourse, Colonel Stoddard affected different people differently. A certain bluntness of speech and manner sometimes marred the impression he made upon those who knew him but slightly, or those who would not or could not understand him better. He had his reserves, and did not wear his heart upon his sleeve. Moreover, a curious privation of fluent and flexible speech seemed often to frustrate the purpose or intent of his mind. He was denied the power to adorn or recommend his thought by graceful expression, either of tongue or pen. I have sometimes wondered whether this defect, which he himself felt to be such, did not after all carry with it the rich compensation of making him—what he certainly was—a man of deeds rather than of words. He could often *do* what many another would charmingly discourse about. And his doing was apt to take the form of timely and unostentatious service to others. Indeed, I am inclined to think that his character flowered and culminated in friendship. He loved to receive, and still more to perform, friendly offices. He was by nature a peacemaker, a reconciler, a promoter of all good causes. There seemed scarcely enough of the alloy of malice in him to make a good fighter, much less a good hater. The predominant qualities of his heart, I should say, were love and good-will; of his intellect, tact and good sense. Emerson, in his eulogy



of Thoreau, compares his strong common sense to "that which Rose Flammock, the weaver's daughter, in Scott's romance, commends in her father, as resembling a yardstick, which, whilst it measures dowlas and diaper, can equally well measure tapestry and cloth of gold." The comparison would not be inapt if applied to the simple but discerning and perspicacious mind of the associate and friend whose loss we mourn today.

E. H. R.

For the Council,

HENRY S. NOURSE,  
CHARLES A. CHASE.

## SOME NOTES UPON THE GENESIS OF THE POWER LOOM IN WORCESTER COUNTY.

BY HENRY S. NOURSE.

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PRIORITY in the introduction of water-driven machinery for textile manufacture in America has been, and even now often is, claimed for different localities and inventors. Such claims, having local pride and patriotism for their motive power, are commendable so far as they are strictly historic; but a majority of them are only histrionic. Worcester County has not lacked its champions whose patriotic credulity outran their thoroughness of research. Some gleanings from the bookkeeping and business correspondence of one of the pioneer cotton manufactories in the United States may serve to throw a little historic light upon this subject.

It is not easy for a people whose every article of apparel is machine-made, to appreciate the fact that within one hundred years their kin were mostly clad with exclusively home-made goods, in the fabrication of which no mechanism more complex than the simple spinning-wheel ever had part. In the New England village, until near the dawn of the nineteenth century, the every-day wear of both sexes and all ages of humanity was literally grown upon the farm; and whether of wool or flax or cotton, or some combination of them, was the product of domestic toil and skill. The busy wheels droned their monotonous bass in accompaniment to the musical treble of the spinster's songs from daybreak until dark in every rural home. The clack of the hand-loom was the most persistent and familiar note of the industrial symphony in every community.

The loom, being cumbrous, generally had a special room to itself, and was found not only in the cottage of the skilled artisan, but in the lean-to of each prosperous farmer's home. Both wheel and loom were often bequeathed in the wills of the yeomen to their unmarried daughters, although the latter was usually held a true heirloom, not detachable from the real estate. Sir Henry Moore, governor of New York, in a letter to the British Lords of Trade in 1767, wrote that "the custom of making coarse cloths in private families prevails throughout the whole province, and almost in every House a sufficient quantity is manufactured for the use of the Family without the least sign of sending any of it to market . . . Every house swarms with children, who are set to work as soon as they are able to Spin and Card, and as every family is furnished with a Loom, the Itinerant Weavers who travel about the Country, put the finishing hand to the Work."<sup>1</sup> The same might have been said of all New England. The forty-two members of the Harvard class of 1768 voted to appear on Commencement Day clad in goods of home manufacture.<sup>2</sup> In 1775 the Provincial Congress, in ordering 1300 coats for the Massachusetts soldiers, set the price of good plain cloth, seven-eighths yard wide, at five shillings and sixpence per yard, "preference to be given to the manufactures of this country."

The spinster, the webster, the cordwainer, the tailor, the tanner were indispensable factors in every neighborhood. All except the last were commonly as peripatetic as the proverbially devious tinker, carrying their kits and their craftsmanship from farm to farm, and plying their arts at each, until the family from sire to urchin was duly clothed. The leather which the cordwainer sewed with flax thread of his own making was the matured product of a tanning process which exhausted nearly two years'

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<sup>1</sup> Documentary History of N. Y., I., 498.

<sup>2</sup> *Massachusetts Gazette*, January 7, 1768.

time, and its wearing properties fully justified this dilatory manipulation. So also the cloth cut by the tailor, whether serge or say, frieze or kersey, linsey woolsey or broadcloth, jeans or corduroy, was slowly wrought by spinster, weaver and fuller, with the definite end in view that the garments made therefrom should outlast the needs of the first wearer, and be left as legacies to sons and daughters; or by a selection of the least worn portions be evolved by some dextrous tailoress into clothing for children. The capable weaver could turn out three or four yards of cloth per day if diligent, and his loom devoured in weft and warp the product of several spinsters. He was paid from six to twenty cents per yard for his work "according to the cloth." The spinster's stint averaged "a skein," perhaps two pounds, of coarse yarn per day. Nowadays her expert, but much less strenuous granddaughter manages from one thousand to twelve hundred spindles, running ten sides of spinning frames for fifty-eight hours weekly. She earns about one dollar and a quarter per ten-hour day, and produces thirty-nine hanks, one and a half pounds, of fine thread per spindle, or 1500 pounds in all, several hundred times the possible output of the old-fashioned wheel.

A skilful weaver of the modern type, managing five high-speeded power-looms, produces in ten hours from three hundred to three hundred and fifty yards of staple ginghams, twenty-seven inches wide, earning about six-tenths of a cent per yard; or managing eight or ten looms in a Fall River mill, turns out from four hundred and fifty to six hundred yards of common sheeting, seven-eighths yard wide, in a day, and is paid less than one-half cent per yard. (We are told that the English weaver never runs more than four looms.)

At the close of the eighteenth century there were numerous professional weavers in Massachusetts, and many very expert workmen, as existing samples of their workmanship

attest. Most of these inherited their skill from English or Huguenot ancestors in Lancashire. Notwithstanding the supposed early development of mechanical ingenuity in our Yankee land, there strangely seem to have been no improvements made here in wheel or loom before the close of the Revolution. One Christopher Tully is said to have exhibited in Philadelphia, as early as 1775, a machine on which twenty-four threads could be spun at a time. This was doubtless a plagiarism upon Hargreaves's invention, and it was not put to any practical use until twelve years later. It was past the dawn of the nineteenth century when a Yankee woman, Sarah Babbitt of Harvard, better known as "Sister Tabitha" in the Shaker community of which she was a member, improved the mechanism of the spinning-wheel by the addition of the "patent head"; an invention which was born too late, for the barber Arkwright's frames and Crompton's mule had already revolutionized the making of yarns, practically superseded hand spinning and established the factory system. Sister Tabitha's chief fame will rest upon her much more valuable boon to man, the buzz-saw. The loom upon which her father worked is preserved in the Harvard community and has no features distinguishing it from those of early colonial days, or from those now in use in certain districts of Tennessee and adjoining states, where homespun jeans are to this day commonly worn. Nor in England or France, until just before our war for independence, were the tools of the textile manufacturer in any important respect superior to those familiar when Nick Bottom the weaver first came upon the stage. Then there began attempts to introduce in Lancashire newly-invented, power-driven machinery for carding, roving and spinning cotton and wool; but with limited and slow-growing success, because of the inhospitality with which any new ideas affecting manual labor were received by artisans. While British armies were striving with bullet and brand to put down

the revolution for political liberty in the American colonies, mobs of textile workers in Lancashire were fighting with like blind and futile rage to obstruct a revolution even more far-reaching and beneficent, inspired by the genius of Watt, Hargreaves, Arkwright, Crompton and Cartwright; an industrial revolution, opening to human effort new and boundless fields of employment, broader and easier paths to comfort and advancement; giving the fettered toiler his first glimpse of enfranchisement.

Cotton for more than a century had been used, though sparingly, in domestic manufactures, serving only as weft with linen or woollen warp. In New England it was commonly obtained from Barbados or other parts of the West Indies, being brought thence in exchange for codfish. The culture of the cotton plant, however, began in Virginia early in the seventeenth century. Moreover, in the middle states, as well as those farther south, the cotton raised sufficed for all domestic demands, and it promptly sprang into importance as an article of export after the invention in 1793 of the saw-gin by the Worcester County mechanical genius, Eli Whitney. With the coming of peace it was inevitable that the impulse given to manufactures in the mother land by the increasing use of labor-saving mechanism should become widely known and stimulate emulative enterprise in the United States. Foreseeing and fearing this, the British Parliament, as early as 1774,<sup>1</sup> forbade the exportation of machinery used in textile manufactures; and a little later<sup>2</sup> imposed a fine of £500 upon any one who should attempt to entice out of Great Britain a workman acquainted with novel processes in the manufacture of linen and cotton goods. In 1781 the act of 1774 was extended by an elaborate act, imposing a penalty of £200 fine and twelve months imprisonment for any attempt to export "any machine, engine, tool, press, paper,

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<sup>1</sup> 21 George III. c. 37. <sup>2</sup> 22 George III. c. 60.

utensil or implement whatsoever which now is or at any time or times hereafter shall or may be used in or proper for the preparing, working, pressing, completing or finishing of the woollen, cotton, linen or silk manufactures of this kingdom . . . or any part or parts of such machines, etc. . . . by what name or names soever the same shall be called or known, or any model or plan . . . of such machines, etc. . . . ” An association of Philadelphia capitalists, encouraged by state bounties offered for the introduction of improvements in cotton manufacture, employed in 1787 an English mechanic to revisit Lancashire, procure models of the new textile machines and smuggle them to America *via* France. When his success seemed almost assured, he was detected and imprisoned.<sup>1</sup> But despite acts of Parliament, handicraftsmen in large numbers, Irish, Scotch and English, began to appear in the United States, some of them claiming to possess models or expert knowledge of the new carding and spinning devices.

So early as November 16, 1786, the Massachusetts legislature advanced £200 to Robert and Alexander Barr, two Scotch immigrants, who exhibited models of cotton carding and spinning mechanism “to enable them to compleat three machines and also a roping machine, and to construct such other machines (connected with those already exhibited) as are necessary for the purpose of carding, roping and spinning of sheep’s wool as well as of cotton wool.” These machines were built in Bridgewater at a cost of £189 12s. A committee was appointed March 8, 1787, to inspect them, and to determine what recompense should be allowed the Barr Brothers “as a reward for their ingenuity, and as an inducement to other ingenious Artists and Manufacturers to bring their arts also into this Commonwealth.” May 2, 1787, this committee re-

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<sup>1</sup> White’s “Memoir of Slater,” p. 71, *et seq.*

ported that they had allowed the machinists, besides the £200 originally advanced, "six tickets in the State Land Lottery." The machines were placed in the custody of the Honorable Hugh Orr, the famous gunmaker of revolutionary days, for exhibition, and there is no record of their practical use. Models of similar machines were exhibited the following year at Baltimore and in Boston by Thomas Somers, which also received state reward. He moreover won enthusiastic patrons in the Cabots of Beverly, and in 1789 machinery built by them began producing corduroy and other coarse fabrics for men's wear, at Beverly. Their factory, the nine proprietors of which were incorporated as the Beverly Cotton Company, February 3, 1789, is described at some length by Washington in his Diary, as he saw it on Friday, October 30, 1789, when on his tour through the northern states. In a three-storied brick building he found in operation all the means for converting cotton fibre into cloth, including a carding machine, a warping machine, four spinning-jennies and sixteen looms with flying shuttles. The last were expected to double the output of the ordinary loom of the period, but were worked by hand. Motive power was furnished to most of the other mechanism by a pair of heavy horses in the basement. This brave enterprise of the Beverly capitalists was twice fostered by state subsidies: February 17, 1789, a legislative resolve granted the corporators "£500 lawful money to be paid in Eastern Lands." The preamble to the resolve is as follows, "Whereas it is essential to the true interest of this Commonwealth to encourage within the same the introduction and establishment of such manufactures as will give the most extensive and profitable employment to its citizens, and thereby instead of those emigrations which are ruinous to the state, increase the number of manufacturers who by consuming the productions of the soil will add to the value of it." March 4, 1791, the legislature again came to the aid of the struggling



industry with a grant of seven hundred tickets in the state lotteries. The Beverly factory, however, won no financial success, owing to the extraordinary expenditures and waste attendant upon novel adventure in manufacture, lack of technical skill in its workmen, and defective construction of the mechanism employed. But though its useful career was brief, it is plausibly claimed to have been the earliest in America wherein all the operations of the manufacture of cotton cloth were carried on under one roof, and by the aid of other than manual power.

J. P. Brissot De Warville, in his "New Travels in the United States of America," mentions seeing in 1788 at Beverly a "flourishing manufactory of cotton." But Henry Wansey, a Wiltshire clothier, in "An Excursion to the United States of North America in the summer of 1794," [page 84] states from official information given in Boston, that "the famous cotton manufactory for fustians, corduroy and jeans at Beverly in Massachusetts, of which such favorable hopes were entertained for five years past does not answer." Its proprietors, however, had not acknowledged defeat eight years later, for the Reverend Manasseh Cutler, on December 13, 1802, being then representative to Congress from the Essex district and dining with President Jefferson, presented to him "specimens of wadding for ladies' cloaks, and of bedticks, from the Beverly factory,"<sup>1</sup> which examples of American manufactures, he says: "afforded the ladies much satisfaction, especially the wadding which was indeed especially neat. Their fertile imaginations suggested a great number of uses besides that of cloaks and spencers, such as quilts for beds, gentlemen's as well as ladies' weather coats, etc. The specimens were pronounced much preferable and cheaper than that imported from Europe." James Beaumont, the young Englishman who built and ran cotton-

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<sup>1</sup> "Life, Journals and Correspondence of Rev. Manasseh Cutler, LL.D." ii., 113-115.

spinning machinery, including a mule with forty-four spindles, at Canton, in 1803, visited Beverly in the closing year of the eighteenth century. In his "Reminiscences," written in his old age, he expresses his lack of respect for the popular estimate of the Essex County enterprise in these words: "There were no Arkwright improvements, the carding and spinning were done by hand labor, and it was but little removed from the old-fashioned hand card and high wheel." Beaumont also visited John Lees's woollen mill at Byfield, and describes it as "the first woollen manufactory worthy of the name established in the United States." Beaumont's recollections of youthful experiences can, however, hardly be accepted as history. We know that the Byfield mill was not built until 1794, and Washington, at his first inauguration as President, April 30, 1789, wore a suit of "dark brown cloth" made by the Hartford Wool Manufacturing Company, a part of whose machinery, though not the looms, was run by water-power. Of the Hartford factory, the output, according to Brissot De Warville, was five thousand yards in the year 1788-89. At the time of Henry Wansey's coming thither in 1794, he reported the company had "two carding machines worked by water," and that the enterprise was decadent.

An important rival to the claim made for the Beverly mill was the Philadelphia Association's manufactory previously mentioned. This was replenished with all the needful apparatus for the making of cotton goods in 1787 or 1788, and gave such promise of success, that the Pennsylvania legislature ordered the state treasurer to invest £1,000 in the stock of the company. The factory with all its contents was destroyed by an incendiary fire in March, 1790, and was not rebuilt. The machinery was run in part by horse-power. Washington's Diary is authority for stating that the factory system had been introduced before 1789, in Boston and Haverhill, for the fabrication of sail-cloth, but the various steps in the process seem to

have all been conducted by manual labor only, and with tools little differing from those familiar in New England farm houses. The Boston factory spinners, by the aid of a girl who twirled the wheel, were enabled to spin a thread with each hand, and in Colonel Samuel Blodgett's mill at Haverhill one girl turning a large wheel gave employment to eight spinners acting independently of each other. The Boston Sail Cloth Manufactory turned out from each of its twenty-eight looms about eight yards per day at the date of the President's visit, which proves that the recently invented spring shuttle was there in use. Brissot De Warville, who visited Boston a year earlier, states that "this single establishment finished two thousand yards per week," a statement probably more truly descriptive of the hopes of the manufacturers than of their actual achievement. In the *Massachusetts Centinel* for April 1, 1789, John Andrews advertises sail-cloth "to be sold at his hardware store on Union street near the Market . . . Which is esteemed by good judges to be equal, if not superiour to any Duck imported from Europe. . . N. B. Several strong healthy Lads, of 16 or 17 years of age, are wanted as Apprentices at the Factory, to be instructed in the art of Weaving etc. whose parents and friends will have a reasonable allowance made for their support."

On February 5, 1789, the *Massachusetts Spy* published the following news item: "Several gentlemen are about establishing a cotton manufactory in this town. A subscription for defraying the expense of making the spinning machine called a jenny is already filled." The names of the gentlemen therein referred to are discovered by two deeds, conveying lands—situated on Mill River near the meeting of Union and School streets—granted them "so long as they shall make use of any building which may be erected on said land for the purpose of carrying on the Cotton and Linnen Manufactory or the Manufacturing of any other kinds of goods whatsoever." They were "Daniel

Waldo Esq.; Daniel Clap Esq.; Joseph Allen Esq.; Levi Lincoln Esq.; Samuel Flagg Esq.; Samuel Chandler and Charles Chandler, Gentlemen; Abel Stowell, Clockmaker; Peter Stowell, Weaver; Cornelius Stowell, John Stanton, Isaiah Thomas and Thomas Stowell, Gentlemen; Samuel Brazier, Baker; Nathaniel Paine Esq.; Samuel Waldo, jun., Merchant;—all of Worcester,—and John Sprague Esq. of Lancaster.” The deeds bear the dates August 11, and October 5, 1789. The location is sufficient indication of the intention to utilize water-power for driving the machinery. But several months before the purchase of this site the association had begun manufacture, as this news item from the *Spy* for April 30, 1789, attests:

“On Tuesday last the first piece of Corduroy made at the manufactory in this town, was taken out of the Loom; to say that it looks well, and equal to any of the same quality imported from a foreign market, might be thought only to be retailing the common prejudices of people in general in their own favour, when they enter into business and view the first product of their labour: But throwing partiality aside, we would only observe, that good judges speak highly of it, and give it a decided preference to that imported from Great Britain. The carding machine, which is really a great curiosity, has been some time completed, as well as the spinning machine. In a little time it is hoped that the quantity of corduroys, jeans, etc. made in this town will be sufficient to supply the inhabitants of this county, and may be the means of saving a considerable sum of money among ourselves.”

The proprietors of the factory at Beverly alleged that the “curious” carding and spinning machinery at Worcester was built from their designs, and by a machinist enticed from their employ; also that the head spinner was a woman educated by them.<sup>1</sup> If water-power had ever any part in operating the little plant, there is no reason to suppose it was attached to the looms. For a few weeks in the

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<sup>1</sup> Robert S. Rantoul's “The First Cotton Mill in America,” pp. 37, 38.

early summer months of 1789, Samuel Brazer advertised in the *Spy*: "Corduroys, Jeans, Fustians, Federal Rib, and Cotton for the Cash only, at a price which will be satisfactory to the purchasers. The quality of the above-mentioned goods is superiour to those imported, and they have been proved to exceed them in strength, which circumstance alone, it is presumed, will induce every one to give the preference to the Manufactures of their own country." His advertisements close with the statement that the "Cotton Manufactory is in need of an overseer, three or four healthy boys as apprentices and two or three journeymen weavers." From the large amounts of linen yarn advertised for and bought by Samuel Brazer, it seems quite certain that the cotton in the fabrics made, was weft only. After less than eighteen months' experience, the associates were evidently losing confidence in their venture, for we find in the *Spy*, during August, 1790, Samuel Brazer and Daniel Waldo, Jr., requesting the immediate settlement of all accounts with the proprietors of the Worcester Cotton Manufactory. The property perhaps soon after reverted to the original owners, for one of them, Nathan Patch, petitioned for a state loan of £600 as an encouragement to continue the manufacture, alleging that about £1,000 had been sunk in the experiment. The loan was not granted, but a resolve, passed February 20, 1792, exempted the factory and the machinery and cloth therein, from taxation for the term of ten years. It is probable that the mill's wheels ceased to revolve at this time, as no further advertisements of its products are found; but Henry Wansey, who passed through Worcester in 1794, makes mention of "a cotton and carpet factory carried on by Peter Stowell," who appears, being styled a weaver, among the grantees in the deeds before mentioned. He may have utilized the carding and spinning devices of the defunct Worcester Cotton Manufacturing Company.

The early attempts at cotton spinning by water-power

in Rhode Island, borrowed the designs of the Barr Brothers at Bridgewater and those of Thomas Somers at Beverly, and mechanics from Beverly aided the work. These attempts were practically fruitless until Samuel Slater arrived from England, caused the abandonment of the crude mechanism employed, and, without the aid of models or patterns, built and operated Arkwright spinning frames. This he accomplished in 1790, his first output of yarn being late in December of that year.<sup>1</sup> His weaving was all done upon hand-loom for many years thereafter. Henry Wansey did not visit Providence in 1794, and makes no mention of Slater. He describes a large undertaking in cotton manufacture at Patterson, New Jersey, as "brought forward at a very heavy expense . . . badly conducted, and certain to become a heavy loss to the first undertakers"; a prophecy amply justified soon after. He saw near Hell Gate "the large cotton manufactory belonging to Dickson, Livingston and Company." This was operated by a breast-water wheel twenty feet in diameter, and included two four-storied buildings eighty feet in length. All the machinery was made upon the premises "from models brought from England," and "a vast deal of money" had been sunk in the process. The spinning was by water-driven machinery, "using all the new improvements of Arkwright and others," and employed experienced workmen brought from Manchester, England. Among other machines was one "called a mule." French spinners were paid two dollars per week besides lodging and board. In one of the buildings were "twenty-six looms weaving fustians, calicoes, nankins, nankinets, dimities, etc.," and ten other looms in the neighborhood were employed, all having "the newly invented spring shuttle." These were all run by hand.

The success of Slater's "water frames" was the incen-

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<sup>1</sup> George S. White's "Memoir of Samuel Slater."

tive that soon built cotton mills on many a stream in the region round about Providence: as, at Wrentham, in 1792; Warwick, in 1795; Rehoboth, in 1800; Canton, in 1803; Medway, in 1805; Swansea and Taunton, in 1806; Dedham, and Scituate, R. I., in 1807; Mendon, in 1808; Attleborough, in 1809; Uxbridge, in 1810. These were all yarn mills, the weaving for them being done by artisans mostly working in their own homes. The oldest of them, that at Wrentham, was built by Benjamin Shepard, and contained, as his petition for a state loan assures us, "masheans for carding, spinning and weaving of cotton cloaths of all kinds upon the most advantageous construction . . . on a large scale." He obtained, June 20, 1793, a loan of £300 from the state, to be repaid in three years. This was extended in 1796 for three years, when a legislative committee found that he had harnessed a little brook to a carding machine and to three roping and spinning frames; that he used horse-power for calendering; and that his four looms were common hand-loom located in a building by themselves, and turned out 120 yards of cloth per week. The Canton Company, in 1810, adventured upon the trial of a power-loom. After spending a week in setting it up, and a fortnight in experimental weaving, it was thrown out as worse than worthless—another expensive lesson in the ways "how not to do it." The boldest adventure was that at Mendon, now Blackstone, where some wealthy Providence merchants built a stone mill, 200 feet long by 40 wide, six stories in height, with a capacity for ten thousand spindles. Seth Wheaton, one of the proprietors, in a letter dated August 20, 1809, says "more than fifty mills are now erecting in the New England states" for the manufacture of yarns. This might be thought merely a careless estimate, but we may learn from William R. Bagnall's painstaking and exhaustive monograph upon the early textile manufactures of the United States, that there were at that date at least seven

cotton mills then in operation in Connecticut,—at New Haven, Hartford, Suffield, North Bolton, Middletown, Bethlehem and Pomfret; and two in New Hampshire,—at New Ipswich and Manchester. In Massachusetts and Rhode Island capitalists were more abundant and enterprising. Richard Hildreth<sup>1</sup> says that previous to the Embargo—December 22, 1807—"there were in the United States but fifteen cotton mills with 8,000 spindles. By the end of 1809, eighty-seven mills had been built, of which sixty-four were in operation,—forty-eight by water and fourteen by horse-power,—working 30,000 spindles, and many more were in process of erection." Albert Gallatin, in 1810, counted one hundred and sixty-eight cotton factories in the United States, with a capacity of 90,000 spindles. Of these fifty-four were in Massachusetts, twenty-six in Rhode Island and fourteen in Connecticut. Enthusiasts and plausible calculators had excited throughout the country a craze for manufacturing; but technical efficiency was of slow growth, and when the financial depression succeeding the war with England set in, the valleys of New England were strewn with the wreckage of manufacturing establishments. But the era of credulity and bungling soon passed and the day dreams of the most visionary manufacturers were only faint prophecies of subsequent achievement.

To confine our further study to the limits of Worcester County: preceding by more than a year the operations of the Blackstone Manufacturing Company at Mendon, was the building the three-storied brick mill upon the north branch of the Nashua River by the Fitchburg Cotton Manufactory Corporation, chartered June 20, 1807. The charter members were Peter Snow, Jonas Marshall, John Muzzy, Edward Durant, William Brown, Joseph Farwell and Robert Allen. For the annals of this company's brief career, and its feeble accomplishment, I am largely

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<sup>1</sup> "History of the United States," VI., 210.



dependent upon the curt statements of an historian who was not a studious investigator. The mill shared the water-power created by the dam of the first saw and grist mills of Fitchburg. It is now standing, forming a part of the large plant of the Parkhill Manufacturing Company. This is locally claimed to be "the third cotton factory erected in the state." But, besides several towns hereinbefore named, Watertown, Andover and Haverhill can honestly dispute Fitchburg's assumption of priority. The first superintendent employed to construct and operate the equipment of the Fitchburg factory was Charles Robbins, a machinist who learned his art in the Slater Mill, and built the first cotton factory of New Hampshire, at New Ipswich in 1804. He was soon dismissed, and a successor named Field was brought from New Ipswich to complete the plant and act as manager. Whatever success the company won, if any, was only attained after many discouraging experiences, and the venture ended in complete failure during the financial troubles of 1816. The building was, however, again utilized as a cotton mill for a time, but in 1822 was converted into a woollen mill, serving as such during sixty-five years.

In the month of August, 1809, gossip in Lancaster grew fervent with the news that two wealthy foreigners were in town, in search of suitable water-power for a proposed cotton spinning mill. The visitors were in fact worthy citizens of Boston, but naturalization papers could not cover from sight and hearing those birthright traits which plainly proclaimed the elder to be a debonair, punctilious and dapper Frenchman, and the younger, his son-in-law, a typical Englishman, energetic, rigid in his convictions, and tenacious of purpose. One hundred and fifty years earlier an Englishman from Lancashire, of like sturdy qualities, the heroic pioneer white settler in the Nashua Valley, John Prescott, had built the first grist-mill in Worcester County, at a natural cascade in a brook where

a short, inexpensive dam governed a fall of nearly thirty feet. It was Prescott's noted mill site, then for sale, that had attracted the strangers to Lancaster. Their resources were by no means so ample as gossips imagined, for they had previously proposed the purchase of the privilege on the River Charles at Waltham, but found its price too great for their capital, which perhaps did not exceed \$10,000. The Waltham site, very soon after, fell into the hands of Lowell, Jackson and Appleton, the "Boston Manufacturing Company," who built the first practical power-looms in America. The Prescott water-power suited well the plans and the bank account of the prospectors, and they bought it, together with certain buildings and lands, for \$1,300. They also procured from the town promise of partial exemption from taxation for several years, in consideration of their improvements. The time for such venture was propitious. If a village belle in those days needed a fine calico or gingham frock she bought seven or eight yards at the squire's store, paying fifty or sixty cents a yard for an importation from France or England. The embargo and war with Great Britain served all the purposes of a high protective tariff in favor of the infant industry. Common cotton shirting, which at the date of building the factory cost thirty to forty cents per yard, before the close of hostilities commanded nearly double that price. But when peace returned, foreign goods speedily flooded the markets and the cotton manufacturers of New England were only saved from total ruin by protective measures tardily enacted by Congress.

The Poignaud and Plant spinning mill, a three-storied brick structure, fifty-seven feet long by thirty-eight and one-half feet wide, became the theatre of busy industry just before the war of 1812 opened. Its yarns were made, from fibre to the finished thread, by water-driven machinery. It was financially a success from the outset. Possibly the same can be affirmed of one or two cotton factories in

this Commonwealth, the activities of which date a year or two earlier. The mill at Waltham did not go into operation until 1814. The old Poignaud and Plant mill has passed through many vicissitudes during its life of ninety years. It is dwarfed by sundry modern additions. Steam has superseded the power of South Meadow Brook. But the building remains a humming hive of cotton spinners. In 1812 the spinners were generally girls from the families of the towns around. They lived at the boarding-house opened by the firm, paying \$1.08 to \$1.16 a week for board including washing, and they received from \$2.33 to \$2.75 per week for their services. Children were employed, some even as young as eight or ten years, and the wheels ran daily twelve hours, for six days in the week. Every two or three weeks a four-horse team carried the finished bales of cloth to Boston and brought back cotton bales and various supplies for the mill and the company's store. The trip of thirty-five miles and back devoured three days' time. The first invoice of cotton was two bales of New Orleans fibre, six hundred and sixty pounds, costing thirteen cents per pound in Boston. This was about half the price then paid by the Lancashire spinners. Later invoices were paid for at ten cents per pound, but in 1814, twenty-seven cents was paid for Georgia upland cotton.

The personal history of the founders of the Lancaster Cotton Factory was not without romantic episodes. When Louis XIV., under Jesuitical domination, drove from France by bloody persecution more than a million of his protestant subjects, to find refuge in other lands, including many thousands of the most cunning artisans in his empire; the ancestors of David Poignaud were among the Huguenot exiles who found an asylum in England. He was the youngest son of Louis Poignaud of Poitiers and Mary Magdalen Roselle, born in the Island of Jersey, January 12, 1759. A family record tells that Madame Roselle, presumably the mother of Mary, a refined and beautiful

lady, was driven from her estates by the dragonades of Louis XIV., and escaped to the Island of Jersey from San Malo, in an open boat, disguised as a fisherman's wife. David first came to Boston in 1783, seeking for an opening in trade. He had learned the art of a cabinetmaker, and had acquired in London some knowledge of mercantile business. Pleased with what he saw in the young republic, he returned to England for his *fiancée*, a Huguenot girl, Delicéa Amiraux, was married, and came back to America to build a home. He practised his trade awhile in Roxbury, and beautiful examples of his handiwork are extant. He also, in partnership with a fellow exile, John Bazin, set up a hardware store at number sixteen Cornhill,<sup>1</sup> in Boston. Bazin and Poignaud's advertisements in the *Massachusetts Centinel* for 1789, include with their general assortment of hardware, "Excellent French Brandy." Poignaud was the capitalist of the Lancaster firm, and president of the subsequent corporation. His son-in-law, Samuel Plant, was born in Maresfield, England, in 1777, and came to the United States when but nineteen years of age, as factor for the Leeds Woollen Manufactory, of which his uncle, Samuel Hague, was a proprietor. About nine months before his appearance in Lancaster he had revisited England, sailing from Boston, October 26, and reaching London, November 26, 1808. Having closed his engagement with his uncle, he turned his attention to gaining a thorough acquaintance with the latest improvements in the management of the Lancashire cotton mills, with the secret intent to build a spinning factory in Massachusetts. The British manufacturers, with a jealous secretiveness which continues to characterize their class, then rigidly guarded their doors against all students of their methods, and for years had foiled attempts to smuggle models or working drawings of their novel devices out of

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<sup>1</sup> Now on the present Washington street.

Great Britain. It has been claimed that Mr. Plant was more successful than others in securing sketches and patterns of important mechanism, but no evidence of this is found among his papers. He kept notes of his observations in cipher, duplicates of which he forwarded, with tables and columns of figures, in letters to Mr. Poignaud in Roxbury, but he possessed unusual mechanical skill and a remarkable memory for details. He was the business manager of the Lancaster firm and a methodical, resolute and strenuous one he proved. Both he and his father-in-law, though not university bred, were scholarly men, and possessed the largest library in the town.

The partners were fortunate in securing the services of Capt. Thomas W. Lyon, an ingenious mechanic, gifted with rare inventive faculty; and all the machinery for the new mill was built by him upon the premises, under Plant's supervision. The castings had to be brought from South Boston, there being no competent foundry nearer. Both Plant and Lyon introduced from time to time improvements upon the English designs—notably the double-beater picker, and circular spindle boxes,—but the whole system at first was practically a copy of that used in Lancashire. At that date and for many years after, the spinning of cotton in England was always conducted in a separate establishment from the weaving, and although the Cartwright power-loom was invented more than twenty years before, it had been but little used, and its economic success but recently assured. The Lancaster firm contemplated the employment of the hand-loom in the surrounding region for converting its yarns into cloth. In 1811, Francis C. Lowell, following Mr. Plant's example, studied in England the new features of cotton manufacture, and his report upon them resulted in the building of the factory at Waltham, which was completed in 1814, and began the making of cloth late in 1815; turning out over 1,200 yards before February, 1816. This was woven upon

power-looms built by the company, Paul Moody being the master-mechanic. These looms were the first successfully run by water in America, and were not tame duplicates of English patterns. Poignaud and Plant's spinning frames were in successful operation three years before those built by Lowell, Jackson and Appleton at Waltham, but the Lancaster cloths for the first three years were all hand-woven.

The "Weavers' Book" records the fact that thirty looms were employed in 1812, located in at least twelve towns; and over fifty weavers, in 1813, furnished from one to a dozen webs of cloth each. While the chief product was shirting, they turned out to order gingham of various patterns, chambray, sheeting, stripes, checks, nankeen, tickings, twill and blanketing with cotton warp and wool filling. The first entry in the book is the account of Ivory Wilds, who was the business elder of the Shirley Shaker Community, charging him on May 29, 1812, with ten lbs. of number "16 Warp and Filling" and crediting him on June 17, with thirty-seven yards of seven-eighths yard wide shirting returned. For weaving this he was paid twelve cents per yard, the value of the finished cloth being set down as thirty-nine cents per yard. (At the Baltimore factory about this date, record is found that weavers working thirteen hours made three or four yards of cloth from number fourteen yarn, and were paid fifteen cents per yard.) On the debit side of each weaver's account, after the quality of yarn and the quantity delivered, is also set down the kind, width and fineness of cloth ordered woven. The width is sometimes expressed in the popular terms of measurement, but often in the technical term, "biers," and the technical word "sley" is always used to denote the fineness of the weave. Thus Matilda Lyon is charged with one hundred and fifty-six skeins number twenty-six warp and one hundred and sixty skeins filling for "Shirting 54 Beers, Slay 60," meaning to require a warping of two

thousand one hundred and sixty threads (the bier being forty threads), and a weft, using a reed of sixty dents to the inch. For such fine cloth she was paid seventeen cents per yard. In the "Weavers' Book," a few samples of the gingham produced by local weavers in 1812, are attached to accounts of the artisans who wove the goods.<sup>1</sup>

On February 13, 1814, there occurred a notable wedding in the factory village. The bride was Louisa Elizabeth, a winsome daughter of David Poignaud. The groom was Colonel Thomas Aspinwall, the gallant soldier who lost an arm in the battle at Fort Erie and was subsequently, for thirty-eight years, United States Consul at London. The bride's wedding garments were all fashioned of fabrics from the factory.

But for the prudent conservatism of the manager and the limited means available, there is little doubt that this Worcester County firm would have anticipated that of Waltham in adventuring upon a trial of the power-loom. The proposition was not one unfamiliar in its councils. Among the local weavers was Samuel Rugg of Lancaster, an ingenious mechanic of strong common sense. Of home-keeping habits, he was a reader of books, could quote from the poets, but it is doubtful if he had ever heard of the Reverend Edmund Cartwright or his loom, in 1809. He died in 1850, firm in the belief that he was the first man in America to create and use a loom adapted to weaving by water-power. The "Weavers' Book" of the firm records the first web delivered by him to the factory as "striped cambray," in March, 1813. As a town

<sup>1</sup> The regular prices for weaving plain cloth three-fourths yard wide was at this date, in Massachusetts, as follows:

|                     |                   |
|---------------------|-------------------|
| Nos. 10 to 13 yarn, | 8 cents per yard. |
| 14 to 15 "          | 9 do.             |
| 16 to 17 "          | 11 do.            |
| 18 to 19 "          | 12 do.            |
| 20 to 22 "          | 14 do.            |
| 23 to 26 "          | 16 do.            |
| 27 to 30 "          | 18 do.            |

For checks and plaids one cent extra per yard was allowed.

meeting orator, Rugg was always entertaining, though digressive and egotistic; for he did his own thinking, and expressed his thoughts in quaint language. One of his speeches, which I heard in 1848, was in opposition to the establishment of a central high school, and it was effective in defeating the scheme. It was faithfully reported in a local paper at the time and I cull the following paragraph from it: "It has been a question in my mind whether I invented a blessing or a curse to the country, when I set up the power-loom, and wove 50 yards of good shirting cloth from yarn spun in Clintonville. It was done by turning a crank as it was calculated to go by water. This was about 39 years ago. That loom has become the mother of villages and one entire city: and is in exercise for giving laws for Lancaster and the country. If I had the money which I might have made by that invention I would give money to every town in the state to educate their children in the outside districts . . ." Rugg was a poor man, procrastinating in business matters, and although a little mill stood upon the brook running through his farm, he did not harness its force to his loom. He had rivals who made similar claims to his, and some of them patented their ideas. Ichabod Washburn, in his "Autobiography" [page 24], tells of his being engaged with a Mr. Sugden, an Englishman, at Kingston, R. I., in the winter of 1813, "in running a power-loom, so crude and primitive that all the cog wheels were made of wood," which he supposes "probably the first power loom ever made in this country." Thomas R. Williams of South Kingston, R. I., patented a power-loom in 1813; but when put to use in 1814, it could only weave narrow webbing. The Gilmour power-loom was the first that proved a practical rival to the Waltham loom, and its inventor did not reach America until 1817. His loom was a formidable competitor only because its cost was but seventy-five dollars, while the early Waltham machines cost double that price.



The voluminous Poignaud and Plant papers fail to give any evidence tending to show that Rugg's loom or that of any rival inventor won serious attention from the firm before 1816. Nor is there found any hint that their machinist, Lyon, was at any time engaged in constructing a loom upon the Cartwright or any other design, although frequent record exists of his contracting to build spinning-frames, pickers, breakers, calendering machines, *etc.* But there is more positive proof of the very conservative character of the managers. Under date of November 13, 1814, David Greenough, then a junior partner and selling agent of the company, wrote from Boston: "I have seen a loom which I have no doubt will go by water. The person who invented the loom is desirous of making a trial by water and I will engage a Right very low. As I am not a judge of Machinery, perhaps it might be well if Mr. Plant could come here." To this, on November 21, the reply was sent: ". . . . With regard to the Loom you mention, it would be attended with serious inconvenience for Plant to leave Lancaster at present. As our means for extending our works are limited, we must make the most of the Frames we have in motion. . . . So that altogether we think we have enough upon our hands at present without taking hold of new machinery; besides most if not all of the attempts to make Looms go by water in this country have failed, and we think with such limited means as we possess it will not be prudent to embark in an undertaking of that kind until we have undoubted evidence that there can be no doubt of its practicability."

Little more than a year passed when we find Mr. Plant ordering four looms, for trial, of Patrick T. Jackson, the Waltham manager; and Jackson sent notice, October 2, 1816, that "The 4 looms will be ready in four weeks." In December, 1816, eight more looms were ordered from Waltham, and David Greenough writes that he has con-

tracted for them at \$105 each. At about the same date Seth Bemis, a prosperous manufacturer of duck, introduced power-looms into his factory in Watertown. From 1803 he had been spinning Sea Island cotton yarns by water-power, and paying English weavers fourteen cents per yard for weaving sail-cloth, for which he received one dollar per yard. With the power-looms, the cost of weaving was reduced to one cent per yard. His use of the power-loom doubtless preceded the experimental trial of the four Waltham machines of Poignaud and Plant by a few weeks or months, and therefore the Watertown mill, it may justly be claimed, ranks next to that of Waltham as to priority in the utilization of water-power for weaving, in America. But, so far as any records are discovered, the power-looms of Poignaud and Plant were the first successfully operated in Worcester County.

## REPORT OF THE TREASURER.

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IN compliance with the By-Laws the Treasurer of the American Antiquarian Society herewith submits his annual report of receipts and disbursements for the year ending October 7, 1903.

IN his report for April, 1888, the Treasurer took occasion to give a list of the various funds in his charge and to state the objects for which they were established. Since then four new funds have been created, and he deems it desirable again to lay before the Council and the Society a statement of the various Funds :—

1. *The Librarian's and General Fund*, established in May, 1831, was originally called "The Twelve Thousand Dollar Fund," that being the amount of a legacy from Isaiah Thomas, the first President of the Society. The income of the Fund was to be used in the purchase of books, for paying the salary of the librarian and for incidental expenses. In 1858 about \$10,000 was carried to this Fund from what had been known as the General Fund, and for a time the Research Fund. Since that date the present name has been applied to the Fund. The last addition was in December, 1884, when \$10,000 was received from the estate of our late President, Hon. Stephen Salisbury. The Fund with its accumulations now amounts to over \$36,000.

2. *The Collection and Research Fund*, originally \$5,000, was also received from the estate of Mr. Thomas, and was

first called "The Fund of Antiquities and Research," also the "Five Thousand Dollar Fund." It has been known by its present designation since April, 1858, at which time it amounted to about \$8,000. The income is to be used for the purpose of exploring the ancient monuments of this continent, and to aid in increasing the library and cabinet. By the accumulation of income the Fund now amounts to over \$16,000.

3. *The Bookbinding Fund*, created by the gift of \$5,000 from Hon. Stephen Salisbury, in December, 1885, the income to be used for the binding of newspapers, periodicals and pamphlets, now amounts to \$7,245.13.

4. *The Publishing Fund*, established in 1858, and originally \$6,000, now amounts to \$30,527.72. Ten thousand dollars was added to this Fund in 1884, being a legacy from Hon. Stephen Salisbury, and the balance has been raised from time to time by voluntary subscriptions of members and others.

5. *The Salisbury Building Fund*, founded in October, 1867, by the gift of \$8,000 from Hon. Stephen Salisbury, had increased to about \$14,000 in 1877, when it was mostly expended in the extension of the Library building and the introduction of steam for heating. This fund, which is now over \$5,000, was renewed a short time since by the son and successor in office of the original donor.

6. *The Isaac Davis Book Fund* was established by the gift of \$500, in January, 1868, from Hon. Isaac Davis, which was increased by a later gift, to \$1,000. By the terms of the gift the income of the fund "is to be applied to the purchase of books, maps, charts, and works of art, relating to that portion of North America lying south of the United States." The sum of \$5,000 was added to this fund in April, 1891, by Hon. Edward L. Davis, of Worcester. Since that time the fund has been called The Isaac and

Edward L. Davis Book Fund. By the accumulations of income it now amounts to \$12,772.72.

7. *The Lincoln Legacy Fund*, originally amounting to \$1,000, a legacy from the late Gov. Levi Lincoln, with its accumulations, now amounts to over \$6,000. By the terms of the bequest the income is "to be expended as a premium for the writing of papers on archæological subjects."

8. *The Benjamin F. Thomas Local History Fund*, of \$1,000, was established in February, 1879, by the receipt of that sum from the estate of Judge Thomas. The income of this fund is appropriated to the purchase of local histories.

9. *The Tenney Fund* was founded in March, 1881, by the bequest of \$5,000 from Joseph A. Tenney, of Worcester. No restrictions were placed upon the use of the income from this fund, the income being applied where it is most needed.

10. *The Alden Fund* of \$1,000 was bequeathed to the Society in 1881, by Ebenezer Alden, M.D., the income thereof "to be expended for the benefit of the library, especially in preparing catalogues."

11. *The Haven Fund* was created in 1882, by the receipt of \$1,000, a bequest from Samuel F. Haven, LL.D., for many years the librarian of the Society. The income of this fund is to be appropriated to the purchase of books for the Haven alcove, already started by the gift of many valuable volumes. It now amounts to about \$1,600.

12. *The George Chandler Fund* was founded in 1884, by the gift of \$500 from George Chandler, M.D., of Worcester, the income to be used for "procuring works in genealogy and kindred subjects." At the same time Dr.

Chandler presented two hundred copies of his "Chandler Family," the sale of which will for a long time add to the income of the fund.

13. *The Francis H. Dewey Fund* was created by a legacy of \$2,000 from Hon. Francis H. Dewey, of Worcester, "the income to be applied to the purchase of the biographies and miscellaneous writings of distinguished judges and lawyers."

14. *The George E. Ellis Fund*, founded in 1895, by the bequest of Rev. George E. Ellis, D.D., of Boston, of \$10,000. The income to be used for any object of the Society, approved by it, on the recommendation of the Council.

15. *The John and Eliza Davis Fund*, established in August, 1900, by the gifts of \$1,000 each from John C. B. Davis, of Washington, Horace Davis, of San Francisco, and Andrew McFarland Davis, of Cambridge, now amounts to \$3,402.36. The income of this fund is to be applied to the purchase of literature relating to the Civil War of 1861-1865.

16. The Life Membership Fund is now \$2,200.

A detailed statement of the investments is given as a part of this report, showing the par and market value of the various stocks and bonds, by which it will be seen that notwithstanding the great depreciation in the market value of all securities the past year, the market value of those owned by this Society shows a satisfactory margin over that at which they are carried on the books of the Treasurer.

The total of the investments and cash on hand October 7, 1903, was \$149,856.75. It is divided among the several funds as follows :

|   |              |
|---|--------------|
| The Librarian's and General Fund, . . . . . | \$36,595.65  |
| The Collection and Research Fund, . . . . . | 16,865.80    |
| The Bookbinding Fund, . . . . .             | 7,245.13     |
| The Publishing Fund, . . . . .              | 30,512.22    |
| The Isaac and Edward L. Davis Book Fund, .  | 12,772.72    |
| The Lincoln Legacy Fund, . . . . .          | 6,027.75     |
| The Benj. F. Thomas Local History Fund, . . | 1,193.85     |
| The Salisbury Building Fund, . . . . .      | 5,219.40     |
| The Alden Fund, . . . . .                   | 1,000.00     |
| The Tenney Fund, . . . . .                  | 5,000.00     |
| The Haven Fund, . . . . .                   | 1,596.96     |
| The George Chandler Fund, . . . . .         | 521.99       |
| The Francis H. Dewey Fund, . . . . .        | 4,274.75     |
| The George E. Ellis Fund, . . . . .         | 15,349.88    |
| The John and Eliza Davis Fund, . . . . .    | 3,402.86     |
| The Life Membership Fund, . . . . .         | 2,200.00     |
|   | <hr/>        |
|   | \$149,777.46 |
| Income Account, . . . . .                   | 11.11        |
| Premium Account, . . . . .                  | 68.18        |
|   | <hr/>        |
|   | \$149,856.75 |

The cash on hand, included in the following statement, is \$1,033.94.

The detailed statement of the receipts and disbursements for the year ending October 7, 1903, is as follows :

*DE.*

|  |             |
|--|-------------|
| 1902. Oct. 6. Balance of cash per last report, | \$4,746.89  |
| 1903. " 7. Income from investments to date,    | 8,936.32    |
| " " Life membership, . . . . .                 | 50.00       |
| " " Received for annual assessments,           | 215.00      |
| " " From sale of publications, . . .           | 145.50      |
| " " From premiums on stocks and bonds,         | 54.17       |
| " " From sale of note and stocks, .            | 17,100.00   |
| " " Sundry items, interest, etc., . .          | 20.49       |
|  | <hr/>       |
| Total, . . . . .                               | \$31,268.37 |

*CR.*

|  |             |
|--|-------------|
| By salaries to October 7, 1903, . . . . .  | \$3,999.37  |
| Publication of Proceedings, etc. . . . .   | 814.16      |
| Books purchased, . . . . .                 | 295.00      |
| For binding, . . . . .                     | 89.85       |
| For heating and lighting, . . . . .        | 221.57      |
| Repairs and improvements, . . . . .        | 155.47      |
| Insurance, . . . . .                       | 140.85      |
| Invested in Stocks and bonds, . . . . .    | 23,973.75   |
| Premium on Stock and bonds, . . . . .      | 107.23      |
| Incidental Expense, . . . . .              | 428.94      |
| Deposited in Savings Bank, . . . . .       | 8.24        |
|  | <hr/>       |
|  | \$30,234.43 |
| Balance of cash October 7, 1903, . . . . . | 1,033.94    |
|  | <hr/>       |
|  | \$31,268.37 |
|  | <hr/>       |

## CONDITION OF THE SEVERAL FUNDS.

*The Librarian's and General Fund.*

|  |             |
|--|-------------|
| Balance of Fund, October 6, 1902, . . . . .      | \$37,537.85 |
| Income to October 7, 1903, . . . . .             | 2,252.37    |
| Transferred from Tenney Fund, . . . . .          | 300.00      |
| "    "    Alden Fund, . . . . .                  | 60.00       |
| From Life Membership Fund, . . . . .             | 129.00      |
|  | <hr/>       |
|  | \$40,279.22 |
| Paid for salaries and incidental expenses, . . . | 3,683.57    |
|  | <hr/>       |
| Balance October 7, 1903, . . . . .               | \$36,595.65 |

*The Collection and Research Fund.*

|  |             |
|--|-------------|
| Balance October 6, 1902, . . . . .                                   | \$17,193.39 |
| Income to October 7, 1903, . . . . .                                 | 1,031.59    |
|  | <hr/>       |
|  | \$18,224.98 |
| Expenditure from the Fund for salaries and<br>incidentals, . . . . . | 1,359.68    |
|  | <hr/>       |
| Balance October 7, 1903, . . . . .                                   | \$16,865.30 |
|  | <hr/>       |
| Carried forward, . . . . .   | \$53,460.95 |



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*Report of the Treasurer.*

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*Brought forward, . . .* \$53,460.95

*The Bookbinding Fund.*

Balance October 6, 1902, . . . . . \$6,921.07

Income to October 7, 1903, . . . . . 417.51

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\$7,338.58

Paid for binding, etc., . . . . . 93.45

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Balance October 7, 1903, . . . . . \$7,245.13

*The Publishing Fund.*

Balance October 6, 1902, . . . . . \$29,430.55

Income to October 7, 1903, . . . . . 1,765.83

Publications sold, . . . . . 130.00

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\$31,326.38

Paid on account of publications, . . . . . 814.16

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Balance October 7, 1903, . . . . . \$30,512.22

*The Isaac and Edward L. Davis Book Fund.*

Balance October 6, 1902, . . . . . \$12,062.47

Income to October 7, 1903, . . . . . 723.75

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\$12,786.22

Paid for books purchased, . . . . . 13.50

---

Balance October 7, 1903, . . . . . \$12,772.72

*The Lincoln Legacy Fund.*

Balance October 6, 1902, . . . . . \$5,686.56

Income to October 7, 1903, . . . . . 341.19

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Balance October 7, 1903, . . . . . \$6,027.75

*The Benjamin F. Thomas Local History Fund.*

Balance October 6, 1902, . . . . . \$1,141.18

Income to October 7, 1903, . . . . . 68.47

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\$1,209.65

Paid for local histories, . . . . . 16.30

---

Balance October 7, 1903, . . . . . \$1,193.35

*Carried forward, . . . .* \$111,212.12

*Brought forward, . . .* \$111,212.12

*The Salisbury Building Fund.*

|                                      |            |            |
|--------------------------------------|------------|------------|
| Balance October 6, 1902, . . . . .   | \$5,033.62 |            |
| Income to October 7, 1903, . . . . . | 302.02     |            |
|                                      | <hr/>      |            |
|                                      | \$5,335.64 |            |
| Paid for repairs, etc., . . . . .    | 116.24     |            |
|                                      | <hr/>      |            |
| Balance October 7, 1903, . . . . .   |            | \$5,219.40 |

*The Alden Fund.*

|  |            |            |
|--|------------|------------|
| Balance October 6, 1902, . . . . .             | \$1,000.00 |            |
| Income to October 7, 1903, . . . . .           | 60.00      |            |
|  | <hr/>      |            |
|  | \$1,060.00 |            |
| Transferred to Librarian's and General Fund, . | 60.00      |            |
|  | <hr/>      |            |
| Balance October 7, 1903, . . . . .             |            | \$1,000.00 |

*The Tenney Fund.*

|  |            |            |
|--|------------|------------|
| Balance October 6, 1902, . . . . .             | \$5,000.00 |            |
| Income to October 7, 1903, . . . . .           | 300.00     |            |
|  | <hr/>      |            |
|  | \$5,300.00 |            |
| Transferred to Librarian's and General Fund, . | 300.00     |            |
|  | <hr/>      |            |
| Balance October 7, 1903, . . . . .             |            | \$5,000.00 |

*The Haven Fund.*

|                                      |            |            |
|--------------------------------------|------------|------------|
| Balance October 6, 1902, . . . . .   | \$1,555.61 |            |
| Income to October 7, 1903, . . . . . | 93.23      |            |
|                                      | <hr/>      |            |
|                                      | \$1,648.94 |            |
| Paid for books, . . . . .            | 51.98      |            |
|                                      | <hr/>      |            |
| Balance October 7, 1903, . . . . .   |            | \$1,596.96 |

*The George Chandler Fund.*

|                                      |          |              |
|--------------------------------------|----------|--------------|
| Balance October 6, 1902, . . . . .   | \$492.39 |              |
| Income to October 7, 1903, . . . . . | 39.60    |              |
|                                      | <hr/>    |              |
| Balance October 7, 1903, . . . . .   |          | \$521.99     |
|                                      | <hr/>    |              |
| <i>Carried forward, . . . .</i>      |          | \$124,550.47 |

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*Report of the Treasurer.*

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*Brought forward, . . .*

\$124,550.47

*The Francis H. Dewey Fund.*

Balance October 6, 1902, . . . . . \$4,047.41  
 Income to October 7, 1903, . . . . . 242.84

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\$4,290.25

Paid for books, . . . . . 15.50

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Balance October 7, 1903, . . . . . \$4,274.75*The George E. Ellis Fund.*

Balance October 6, 1902, . . . . . \$14,515.94  
 Income to October 7, 1903, . . . . . 870.94

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\$15,386.88

Paid for books, . . . . . 87.00

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Balance October 7, 1903, . . . . . \$15,349.88*The John and Eliza Davis Fund.*

Amount of Fund, October 6, 1902, . . . . . \$3,227.94  
 Income to October 7, 1903, . . . . . 193.67

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\$3,421.61

Paid for books, . . . . . 19.25

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Balance October 7, 1903, . . . . . \$3,402.36*The Life Membership Fund.*

Balance October 6, 1902, . . . . . \$2,150.00  
 Income to October 7, 1903, . . . . . 129.00  
 Life membership, . . . . . 50.00

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\$2,329.00

Transferred to Librarian's and General Fund, . . . . . 129.00

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Balance October 7, 1903, . . . . . \$2,200.00

Total of the sixteen funds, . . . . . \$149,777.46  
 Balance to the credit of Income Account, . . . . . 11.11  
 " " " " Premium Account, . . . . . 68.18

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October 7, 1903, total, . . . . . \$149,856.75

## STATEMENT OF THE INVESTMENTS.

| STOCKS.                              | Amount<br>Invested. | Par<br>Value. | Market<br>Value. |
|--------------------------------------|---------------------|---------------|------------------|
| City National Bank, Worcester, .     | \$440.00            | \$ 440.00     | \$ 440.00        |
| Citizens National Bank, Worcester,   | 1,000.00            | 1,000.00      |                  |
| Fitchburg National Bank, . . . .     | 600.00              | 600.00        | 900.00           |
| First National Bank, Boston, . .     | 500.00              | 300.00        | 675.00           |
| Nat. Bank of Commerce, Boston, .     | 3,200.00            | 3,200.00      | 4,672.00         |
| Old Boston Nat. Bank, Boston, .      | 300.00              | 300.00        | 318.00           |
| Quinsigamond Nat. Bank, Wore.,       | 2,400.00            | 2,400.00      | 3,360.00         |
| Webster National Bank, Boston, .     | 2,200.00            | 2,200.00      | 2,530.00         |
| Worcester National Bank, . . . .     | 1,600.00            | 1,600.00      | 3,200.00         |
| Wor. Safe Deposit & Trust Co., .     | 675.00              | 300.00        | 675.00           |
| Fitchburg R. R. Co., Stock, . . .    | 5,000.00            | 5,000.00      | 6,750.00         |
| Northern (N. H.) R. R. Co., Stock,   | 3,000.00            | 3,000.00      | 4,950.00         |
| Worcester Gas Light Co., " . . .     | 700.00              | 700.00        | 1,600.00         |
| West End St. Ry. Co. (Pfd.) " . .    | 1,250.00            | 1,250.00      | 2,700.00         |
| N. Y., N. Haven & Hart. R. R., " .   | 9,367.61            | 5,500.00      | 10,454.00        |
| Worc. Ry. & Investment Co., " . .    | 10,000.00           | 10,000.00     | 9,600.00         |
| Boston Tow Boat Co., . . . . " .     | 1,000.00            | 1,000.00      | 1,350.00         |
| Boston & Phila. Steamship Co., " .   | 2,000.00            | 2,000.00      | 2,250.00         |
| Atchison, Tope. & Santa Fé R.R., " . | 700.00              | 1,110.00      | 700.00           |
| Mass. Gas Light Co., . . . . " .     | 2,900.00            | 3,500.00      | 2,790.00         |
| Am. Telephone & Telegraph Co., " .   | 3,100.00            | 2,000.00      | 2,480.00         |
| Old South Building Trust, . . . " .  | 1,000.00            | 1,000.00      | 1,000.00         |
|                                      | <hr/>               | <hr/>         | <hr/>            |
|                                      | \$52,932.61         | \$48,400.00   | \$63,394.00      |

## BONDS.

|  |            |            |            |
|--|------------|------------|------------|
| Atchison, Tope. & Santa Fé R. R. Co.,      |            |            |            |
| Gen. Mortgage, 4 per cent., .              | \$1,540.00 | \$2,000.00 | \$2,000.00 |
| Adjustable, 4 per cent., . . .             | 885.00     | 1,000.00   | 1,000.00   |
| Kan. City, Ft. Sc. & Gulf R. R., . .       | 3,300.00   | 3,300.00   | 3,597.00   |
| Chicago & East. Ill. R. R. 5 per cent.,    | 10,000.00  | 10,000.00  | 11,400.00  |
| City of Quincy Water Bonds, . . .          | 4,000.00   | 4,000.00   | 4,040.00   |
| Congress Hotel Bonds, Chicago, . .         | 5,000.00   | 5,000.00   | 5,000.00   |
| Low., Law. & Hav. St. Ry. Co., 5 per ct.,  | 8,620.00   | 9,000.00   | 9,118.00   |
| Worc. & Marl. St. Ry. Co., 5 per cent.,    | 3,000.00   | 3,000.00   | 3,000.00   |
| Wilkes. & East. R. R. Co., 5 per cent.,    | 2,000.00   | 2,000.00   | 2,130.00   |
| Ellicott Square Co., Buffalo, 5 per cent., | 5,000.00   | 5,000.00   | 5,250.00   |
| Worc. & Web. St. Ry. Co., 5 per cent.,     | 2,000.00   | 2,000.00   | 2,000.00   |
| American Tel. & Tel. Co., 4 per cent.,     | 7,000.00   | 7,000.00   | 6,580.00   |
| Crompton & Knowles Loom Works, .           | 4,000.00   | 4,000.00   | 4,200.00   |
| Union Pacific R. R. Co., 4 per cent.,      | 6,000.00   | 6,000.00   | 6,000.00   |

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*Report of the Treasurer.*

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|  |              |              |              |
|--|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| Hoosier Equipment Co., 5 per cent.,              | 8,000.00     | 8,000.00     | 8,000.00     |
| Père Marquette R. R. Co., . . . . .              | 4,000.00     | 4,000.00     | 3,900.00     |
|  | <hr/>        | <hr/>        | <hr/>        |
|  | \$122,277.61 | \$118,700.00 | \$135,609.00 |
| Notes secured by mort. of real estate, 26,450.00 | 26,450.00    | 26,450.00    | 26,450.00    |
| Deposited in Worcester savings banks, 95.20      | 95.20        | 95.20        | 95.20        |
| Cash in National Bank on interest, . . 1,088.94  | 1,088.94     | 1,088.94     | 1,088.94     |
|  | <hr/>        | <hr/>        | <hr/>        |
|  | \$149,856.75 | \$146,279.14 | \$163,188.14 |

WORCESTER, Mass., October 20, 1903.

Respectfully submitted,

NATH'L PAINE,

*Treasurer.*

The undersigned, Auditor of the American Antiquarian Society, hereby certifies that he has examined the report of the Treasurer, made up to October 20, 1903, and finds the same to be correct and properly vouched; that the securities held by him are as stated, and that the balance of cash, as stated to be on hand, is satisfactorily accounted for.

BENJAMIN THOMAS HILL.

October 20, 1903.

## REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN.

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THE increasing number of scholarly papers offered at our meetings suggests the saving of time and space by allowing the librarian to report only at the Society's annual meeting in October.<sup>1</sup> The precedent for such a step was established in October, 1895, when our treasurer's report became an annual. It may be added that with most of our corresponding societies the library report is a yearly statement, and that with many of them it is largely statistical in character.

Dr. W. H. Holmes, chief of the Bureau of American Ethnology, in a letter addressed to the librarian, 2 September, 1903, says: "I have pleasure in sending you today by express, the four volumes of manuscripts of the Natick Dictionary, rebound in the original covers, in accordance with the agreement made some years ago. The manuscript has been kept as clean as possible, and I trust it will be found in satisfactory condition."

The Trumbull volumes referred to—which arrived on the fourth day of September—had received the most kindly treatment by editor, proof-reader and printer. By direction of the library committee, the Dictionary has been sent to members who are interested in Indian linguistics or the critical study of the Bible. A few copies are for sale.

As in the case of the Venezuelan Boundary Commission, so in that of the more recent Alaskan Boundary

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<sup>1</sup> This suggestion was read to the Council on the evening of October 20, 1903, when it was "Voted that the Librarian be permitted to make his report annually unless he has occasion to send in a special communication."

Tribunal, it has been the privilege of this National Society to furnish important evidence, in the latter case through Mr. W. C. Hodgkins, cartographer to the *Tribunal*.

The following communication was received after the April meeting of this Society:

Colonel Timothy Bigelow Chapter,  
Worcester, Massachusetts.

To the Council of the American Antiquarian Society.

Gentlemen:—

At a recent meeting, the Colonel Timothy Bigelow Chapter voted to extend to you their thanks for your kind co-operation in granting permission to use the stone upon which the tablet marking the site of the first Worcester schoolhouse is to be placed.

Very sincerely,

ELIZABETH W. WALWORTH,  
*Corres. Sec.*

Apr. 30th, 1903.

The bronze tablet—which is fastened to the east face of the granite post which is the southeast bound of the Society's property—bears this inscription:

In front of this tablet | stood | the first school-house |  
in Worcester | where | John Adams | second President of the  
United States | Taught 1755–1758 | Placed by | the Colo-  
nel Timothy Bigelow Chapter | 19 [here appears the seal  
of the Society] 03.

The granite upon which our iron fence rests has been thoroughly straightened and cleansed, and a new post of graceful proportions placed at the west end of the fence on Highland street. Within the Hall additional electric lights have been provided where most needed, greatly to the comfort of the library, force; while without, the roof and woodwork have been repainted.

There may be found upon the eastern wall of the Hall in which we are now gathered—where it has remained for fifty years—the following manuscript record: This edifice was erected by | The | American Antiquarian Society. |

The foundations were commenced | June 7th 1852. | Building Committee: | Levi Lincoln | Isaac Davis | Samuel F. Haven. | Thomas A. Tefft: Architect. | Builders: | Horatio N. Tower | Daniel S. Burgess.

In the report of the Council, 27 October, 1852, we read:

"The library has been gradually increasing in the number of its volumes, and value and amount of its materials; and, with the new facilities and accommodations which will be furnished in the beautiful and commodious Hall now in progress of erection, will become an object of more general interest and attraction even than it has hitherto been. The Council are reasonably assured that the Hall will be completed and ready for use before the recurrence of the next semi-annual meeting of the Society, and that it will be found to meet the expectations of those who planned and designed it. It already presents, in its exterior, a structure which for fitness and severe architectural taste must commend itself to the approbation of the Society. It will, it is believed, sustain the reputation of Mr Tefft, the architect, for skill in his profession, and bear testimony to the fidelity which the committee who have it in charge, have devoted to the duty entrusted to them. The dedication of the Hall to its intended use, when completed, will doubtless furnish an occasion which the Society will consider as fit to be commemorated, in a manner to awaken a renewed interest in the ends and purposes for which the founders and patrons of the institution have labored in its establishment and growth."

At the semi-annual meeting of the Society, 27 April, 1853, it was "Voted, to instruct the Council to make arrangements for a commemoration of the opening of the new Hall and to take into consideration the subject of changing the day of the anniversary." In the Council Report of Rev. Edward E. Hale, he says:

"That the hope expressed in their report of October last has been fulfilled, and that the new building is so near completion that the removal of the library to it is begun. . . . The new building which we are at



last enabled to occupy, was described in the report presented last April. It is built in the most substantial manner, of brick and free-stone. It occupies the site presented to the Society by Hon. Stephen Salisbury, on the corner of Highland and Main streets—fronting on Lincoln Square. The style of building is Italian; and in its general expression it resembles some of the smaller simpler buildings erected in Italy in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries by architects as distinguished as Raphael and Michael Angelo, when the purpose was one which required a severe simplicity. The Council take the liberty of comparing it with such edifices because they hear frequent strictures on its want of external adornment."

There follow a careful description of the Hall, and wise comments upon the subject of library architecture. In the Council report of October, 1853—also prepared by Edward E. Hale—we read:

"That the removal of the collections of the Society to its new building was rapidly and safely completed soon after the semi-annual meeting; and the books are already arranged in the same general order which they held on the shelves of the old library. The library Hall proves very convenient, and the Report of the Librarian to the Council, which we annex to this Report, will show what additions have already been made to its contents, and what advantages its arrangements have offered for setting in more complete order the collections which we had previously made. . . . The Council regret that their efforts to fulfil the plan proposed at the last meeting, for publicly dedicating the new Hall by an address and other appropriate services at this meeting, have not been successful." In the opening paragraph of Mr. Haven's report of October, 1853, he remarks: "The gathering of our books into a single apartment, conveniently arranged and thoroughly lighted, where every volume is within reach of the hand and every title within the range of vision, brings to view at once the merits and deficiencies of our collection."

The contract for the Hall of 1853 is printed here for the first time, as a fragment of the history of our library home life:

HORATIO N. TOWER'S CONTRACT WITH THE ANTIQUARIAN  
SOCIETY TO ERECT A BUILDING. MARCH, 1852.

MEMORANDUM of a Contract made & entered into this tenth day of March in the year of Our Lord eighteen hundred & fifty two by & between Horatio N. Tower of Worcester, Gentleman of the one part & The American Antiquarian Society, a Corporation duly established by Law of the other part—Witnesseth

That the said Horatio N. Tower for & in consideration of the Covenants & Agreements on the part of this Society hereinafter mentioned doth covenant & agree to & with said Society that he will erect, construct & finish a Building on their Lot at the Corner of Hyland [*sic*] & Main Streets in Worcester agreeably to & in accordance with the Plans & Specifications made & drawn by Teft of Providence R. I.—that he will furnish All the materials of every name & nature for the purpose of erecting said Building—that he will make all the necessary preparations on the Lot aforesaid to commence, construct & finish said Building—The size, the height, the proportions, the materials, the workmanship of said Building, are all referred to in the plan & specifications with the Architect Mr. Teft who drew the plans & specifications & if there is any difference of opinion between the Building Committee & said Tower about the materials or the workmanship or anything which relates to the Building the same is to be referred to Mr. Teft the Architect, whose decision is to be final & conclusive—Said Tower is to finish & complete said Building in every particular—in a thorough & substantial & workmanlike manner on or before the 20th day of October next—Said Specifications & Plans are marked A by Isaac Davis & are to be considered a part of this contract.

The American Antiquarian Society on their part in consideration of the covenants & agreements on the part of said Tower, hereby covenant & agree to & with said Tower that they will pay said Tower for constructing said Building according to the Plans & Specifications aforesaid & agreeably to his agreement aforesaid—the sum of fifteen Thousand four hundred Dollars to be paid in the following manner,= \$1500—when the foundations are laid & the Building is up & the first tier of windows are set= \$5000—when the Building is ready to receive the roof= \$2000—when the Roof is on &

\* fully completed=\$2000—when the outside is fully finished & the inside all Plastered=\$1500—when the Building inside & out is ready for painting=& the residue \$3400, when the Building is finished & completed in every particular to the satisfaction of the Committee, who act for the Society & to the acceptance of the architect—

It being distinctly understood & agreed that the Brick & Lumber, which the Society have now on hand, the said Tower is to take of the Society at cost towards the second payment above referred to—the brick which the society have on hand are to be computed at \$15 per thousand—

To the true & faithful performance of the several covenants and agreements the parties aforesaid bind themselves each to the other in the penal sum of Five Thousand Dollars

In witness whereof the parties have hereunto set their hands the day & year first above written—

HORATIO N. TOWER  
AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY

Witness

E. B. STODDARD  
STEPHEN P. TWISS

By

LEVI LINCOLN  
ISAAC DAVIS  
SAML. F. HAVEN  
*Committee of said Society*

P. S. In the language used in the contract that “he will make all the necessary preparation” does not refer to the grading of the Lot or excavation for the furnace—

It has been thought wise to bring together these related facts as in a way supplementing the important papers of Mr. Charles A. Chase on “The American Antiquarian Society’s Land Titles,” to be found in our Proceedings for April and October, 1901.

The sources of gifts for the past six months number two hundred and ninety-three, namely: from forty-one members, one hundred and thirteen persons not members and one hundred and thirty-nine societies and institutions. We have received from them eleven hundred and twenty-nine books, seventy-eight hundred and ninety-one pamphlets, twenty-seven bound and one hundred and nine unbound volumes of newspapers, twenty-six maps, six volumes of bound and six of unbound manuscripts, twelve photographs, one framed and six unframed engravings,

five portraits, an easel, a book-rest, medal, badge and proclamation; by exchange seven books and four pamphlets; and from the bindery, fifty-four volumes of magazines and one volume of newspapers; a total of eleven hundred and ninety books, seventy-eight hundred and ninety-five pamphlets, twenty-eight bound and one hundred and nine unbound volumes of newspapers, *etc.*

An important and timely gift of Mr. Andrew McFarland Davis is his "Confiscation of John Chandler's Estate," which is a mine of documentary information, with notes, regarding this American Loyalist, who was also called the "Honest Refugee."

Dr. Franklin B. Dexter presents the third volume of his "Biographical Sketches of Yale College with Annals," and it has been placed with Sibley's "Harvard Graduates" and kindred works, in our department of college material.

Mr. Henry H. Edes, in his letter of gift, 14 September, 1903, says: "This printed matter is a part of the vast accumulation of more than half a century. The most valuable thing in it is a file of *The Charlestown Chronicle*, which is complete with the exception of a single number. . . . I do not know of any complete file except the one in the Charlestown Public Library. It seems to me, therefore, that Antiquarian Hall is the only proper repository for this file."

Hon. Andrew H. Green<sup>1</sup> has sent us his recent report as President of the American Scenic and Historic Preservation Society. It will be remembered that at our meeting last October, Prof. William D. Lyman furnished a paper on "The Painted Rocks of Lake Chelan" and the importance of saving the inscriptions upon them. It is proper to add that upon reading the article Mr. Green took immediate steps, through our government, to learn the ownership of the property, with a view to its care and control. This active New York State organization was known in 1891 as "Trustees of Scenic and Historic Places and

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<sup>1</sup> Died 13 November, 1903.

Objects"; in 1898 as "The Society for the Preservation of Scenic and Historic Places and Objects"; and in 1901 broadened into "The American Scenic and Historic Preservation Society." Its field is large and well chosen.

Mr. Waldo Lincoln has presented important correspondence relating to the Anti-Masonic movement, and to the Civil War, with a collection of early deeds. The Duc de Loubat, who is a constant giver to our Spanish-American department, has recently added thereto a reproduction of the *Codex Vaticanus*, No. 1773, with notes by Dr. Seler.

Hon. Henry S. Nourse has given the memorial edition of the "Captivity and Restoration of Mrs. Mary Rowlandson." It is a facsimile of the first edition, with notes by Mr. Nourse, who is the editor.

We have received from the heirs of Miss Harriet P. F. Burnside valuable material belonging to her father, Samuel McGregore Burnside, A.M. Mr. Burnside gave long and varied service to this Society. He was Recording Secretary 1812-1814; Corresponding Secretary 1814-1823; of the Committee of Publication 1819-1829; Librarian 1830-1831; and Councillor from 1823 until his death on July 25, 1850. The Council report of May 29, 1850, was prepared by Mr. Burnside. The printed report does not bear his name, but it was added to our office copy by President Salisbury, the elder.

Mr. Charles H. Davis has enriched our very rare collection of early imprints relating to the Quakers of England and America; and Mr. Henry F. Harris has again remembered the library and his *Alma Mater* by a large addition to our Tufts College publications.

With the gift of Mr. Lucius P. Goddard is a file of *The Saturday Dial*, published at Columbus, Ohio, May 7, 14, 21 and 28, 1889, by George P. Goddard, a native of Petersham, Massachusetts, who learned his trade at Worcester. Our special interest in this short-lived periodical is in the fact that numbers 2, 3 and 4 contain Mr. A. A. Graham's

detailed account of "Celoron's March, or the Lead Plate Claim of France to the Valleys of the Ohio"; with the further fact that the Society's imperfect plate is said to be the only one now known to exist. A second plate at one time reported as in West Virginia cannot now be traced. A careful reproduction of our own by the best modern process would be a valuable contribution to the Louisiana Purchase Exposition at St. Louis, as well as a guide and an incentive to the historic hunter. It should be added as a further plea for a reproduction, that the inscription which appears with Hon. DeWitt Clinton's interesting paper, in volume two of our *Archæologia Americana*, is not quite accurate.

The gift of Miss Frances A. Hill includes further contributions from the library of her father, Rev. Alonzo Hill, D.D., Recording Secretary of the Society from 1865 to 1871; and that of Mrs. Charles G. Reed a much needed book-rest for our folio works of art, with a black walnut easel.

Ambassador Jusserand, on behalf of the Republic of France, has sent us from Washington the list of "*Les Combattants Français de la Guerre Américaine 1778-1783*." This carefully prepared work will answer many questions as to our French allies during those eventful years.

The Connecticut Historical Society has added to our printed materials on the early navigation of the Connecticut River. This gift helped us to make a good showing in the bibliography of the subject appended to the exhaustive paper read by Dr. Love at our last meeting.

It has seemed wise from time to time to bring into the librarian's report hidden material relating to the Society and its work. In *The Polyanthos* of August, 1814, published in Boston by Mr. Joseph T. Buckingham, is a short but comprehensive tribute to Isaiah Thomas, doubtless written by Buckingham, who was a fellow printer and editor, as well as his close personal friend. The portrait

by Henry Williams, engraved by J. R. Smith, faces this "appreciation," from which I find no extracts in any other sketches of our founder. It is therefore reproduced in full.

#### BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF ISAIAH THOMAS, ESQ.

The writer of cotemporary biography labours under disadvantages. What in truth may be but history and deserved praise, is, while the subject be living, construed into mercenary adulation; while, on the other side, the freedom of the press is checked by the fear of personal affronts; and animadversions upon conduct or character are repressed by timid authors, apprehensive of controversy or chastisement. Where truth wears the appearance of panegyric or may be mistaken for malignant satire, a modest biographer feels the peculiar difficulties of his undertaking.

But whatever may be the general discouragements to writing the history of living persons, in the present instance they are easily avoided. That cannot be thought adulatory praise, which is universally acknowledged to be true; and where no faults or follies exist, to refrain from abuse will not be attributed to unmanly fear.

#### ISAIAH THOMAS, "THE FATHER AND PATRON OF THE ART OF PRINTING IN MASSACHUSETTS,"

descended from a respectable family, and was born in Boston, in January, 1749. His father, Moses Thomas, died when he was young; his mother afterwards lost nearly all her property by investing it in paper money at (as she thought) a great bargain. At six years of age, he was placed as apprentice under Zechariah Fowle, a printer in Boston, with whom he continued eleven years. He then went to Nova Scotia, and worked as a journeyman for one Henry, who published a Gazette at Halifax, which, from Henry's inattention was principally conducted by him. Even in that colony, Thomas discovered by some pungent paragraphs in the Gazette, his strong disapprobation of the Stamp Act, and involved Henry, the publisher

of the paper, in difficulties with the officers of the government.

From Halifax, Thomas removed to New Hampshire, and worked in the printing offices of Daniel Fowle, and Furber and Russell. In 1767 he returned to Boston to the employment of his former master, Mr. Fowle. Afterwards he went to Cape Fear, but did not succeed in establishing himself there; from thence to Charleston, South Carolina, where he remained two years, and lost his health, which induced him to return to Boston in 1770, at which time he entered into co-partnership with Mr. Fowle, and commenced the publication of the *MASSACHUSETTS SPY*, the oldest paper in the State. In three months he purchased from Fowle his interest in the establishment, and conducted the paper alone. He wished his paper to be impartial, and open to Whigs and Tories, and failed as others have who attempted the project of being neuter between two rival parties. His innate Yankee love of civil liberty discovered itself in spite of his assured neutrality, and the Tories, not being able to seduce him by their promises and their threats, both of which they tried, withdrew their subscriptions, and persecuted the printer. He became the object even of executive hostility; and Governor Hutchinson and his council endeavored to punish him for contempt and indict him for libellous publications. The public spirit was excited; the breach between England and the Colonies widened; and for the safety of his person and press, he removed to Worcester a few days before Lexington battle. On the third of May, 1785,<sup>1</sup> his newspaper first issued from Worcester.

A celebrated writer<sup>2</sup> has observed that mankind most remembered amid the praises bestowed on LUTHER, that his endeavours had been ineffectual, unassisted by FAUSTUS. May I not then be permitted also to remark, that if the reformation was so much assisted by the art of printing, in enumerating the contributing causes of the American Revolution the labours, the patriotism and the press of ISAIAH THOMAS should not be forgotten? He and his publication gave and received a tone to and from public feeling at the time and in the scenes in which commenced

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<sup>1</sup> 1775. <sup>2</sup> Dr. Vicesimus Knox.



the struggle, that terminated in the independence of the Country.

After the peace, Mr. Thomas was no less useful to the public. Our Country took its separate and equal station among the nations of the earth, and it was necessary it should have arts, literature and science. No man perhaps has done more to diffuse useful knowledge, wide and unsparingly, than the subject of this memoir; no man has been more extensively celebrated as a printer and bookseller. Such has been his talents and industry in business, that he and his different partners have had at one time fifteen presses in motion; and such his prudence and good management that an enviable opulence has been secured to his family. His ambition too has been of the right kind, not obtrusive, not rapacious for public office or the public money, he has sought only to be useful and honorable. He has continued to live at Worcester, and been selected on several occasions to discharge the duties of public offices under the general and state governments, more important for their utility than their emoluments. He has for fourteen years been in the commission of the peace, and in 1812 was appointed an associate justice of the court of sessions, which office however he never accepted. He has also been connected for many years with benevolent and literary societies; is a member of the Massachusetts Historical Society; an honorary member of the New York Historical Society; and is President of the newly incorporated American Antiquarian Society, to which he has given his library valued at 5,000 dollars. The highest Masonic honors, and offices have also been attained by him.

Mr. Thomas has felt the liberal sentiment, that every man owes something to his profession; and in 1810 published in two octavo volumes his "History of Printing in America with a Biography of Printers and an Account of Newspapers," and prefixed a "concise view of the discovery and progress of the art in other parts of the world." I am not prepared to discuss the merits of this work; nor is it necessary. It is considered as an emporium of curious, useful and highly interesting narratives, anecdotes and observations, which perhaps could be furnished by no other person. This memoir cannot be more appropriately

closed than by an extract from Mr. John Russell's address to the members of the Faustus Association in 1808.

"The next in rank, as distinguished among our brethren, and who, we are happy to observe, yet lives to advance still further the interests of our profession, and the improvement of science, is ISAIAH THOMAS. He began his career about the time FRANKLIN was called from the private studies of his office, to fulfil the duties of a public minister abroad. On his first entrance into business, he was distinguished for enterprise and ingenuity—and possessing an ardent mind, he pursued the natural bent of his enthusiasm in the cause of liberty, by eminently contributing in his private example, and professional ability, as editor of a newspaper, to the progress and consummation of that glorious revolution; which seated the proud empire of America on the throne of independence. These exertions, in times which tried men's souls, were the oblations of duty offered up at the shrine of patriotism; but in the exercise of a profession, which naturally led to the softer blandishments of science and literature, he seized every moment of time which could be snatched from public avocations, in promoting its interests and advancing its glory. His studies were inculcated to his household, and to the circle of his friends. He incited the love of learning by his precepts to all around him—every being within the verge of his influence was benefitted by his example; and at this moment there are more master printers, who have received their professional education under his fostering care, and who have prospered in the world (many of whom we are proud to see seated amid this circle), than can be claimed by any other printer in America. His prosperity has served to increase his usefulness; and numerous individuals, and even the community at large, have experienced his liberality and munificence. This is but a faint but sincere tribute of praise to the man who may be justly considered as the father and patron of our art in Massachusetts."

At the October meeting fifty years ago "George F. Hoar of Worcester" was elected a member of the American Antiquarian Society. Twenty-five years ago today he was

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*Report of the Librarian.*

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elected a Vice-President, and from 1884 to 1886 inclusive he filled the highest office in the gift of the Society. During all these years his wise and loving service has been constant and unstinted.

Respectfully submitted.

EDMUND M. BARTON,

*Librarian.*

### **Givers and Gifts.**

15 APRIL TO 15 OCTOBER, 1903.

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#### **FROM MEMBERS.**

- ADAMS, CHARLES FRANCIS, LL.D., Lincoln.—His "An Undeveloped Function"; and two pamphlets.
- BALDWIN, SIMEON E., LL.D., New Haven, Conn.—His "First Century of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1799-1899."
- BARTON, EDMUND M., Worcester.—Two magazines, in continuation.
- BAXTER, HON. J. PHINNEY, Portland, Me.—His "Two Rhymes."
- BOWDITCH, CHARLES P., Boston.—Two of his own publications.
- CHAMBERLAIN, ALEXANDER F., Ph.D., Worcester.—Thirteen of his folk-lore and linguistic publications.
- CHASE, CHARLES A., Worcester.—Twenty-three books; and fifty-two pamphlets.
- CHAVERO, ALFREDO, Mexico, Mex.—His "Apuntes Viejos de Bibliografía Mexicana."
- DAVIS, ANDREW MCF., Cambridge.—His "Confiscation of John Chandler's Estate"; and two others of his publications.
- DAVIS, HON. EDWARD L., Worcester.—Eleven books; one hundred and three pamphlets; three engravings; one medal; and a badge.
- DAVIS, HON. HORACE, San Francisco, Cal.—One pamphlet.
- DEXTER, FRANKLIN B., Litt.D., New Haven, Conn.—His "Biographical Sketches of Graduates of Yale College, with Annals," vol. 3; and the report of the Librarian of Yale University, August, 1901-July, 1902.
- EAMES, WILBERFORCE, New York, N. Y.—Growoll's "Three Centuries of English Booktrade Bibliography," containing a list of English trade catalogues, 1595-1902, by Mr. Eames.
- EDES, HENRY H., Cambridge.—Thirty-two books; eleven pamphlets; thirteen volumes of bound newspapers, 1789-1853; a file of the "Charlestown Chronicle"; one framed lithograph; three plans; one proclamation; and a collection of Massachusetts newspapers.
- GILMAN, DANIEL C., LL.D., Baltimore, Md.—Two of his own publications; and three others.

- GREEN, Hon. ANDREW H., *President*, New York.—His Annual Report, 1903, of the New York State Reservation at Niagara; and his Eighth Report of the American Scenic and Historic Preservation Society.
- GREEN, Hon. SAMUEL A., Boston.—One book; sixty-five pamphlets; one portrait; a proclamation; and "The American Journal of Numismatics," in continuation.
- GREEN, SAMUEL S., Worcester.—His report of 1901-1902, as Librarian of the Free Public Library of Worcester.
- HALE, Rev. EDWARD E., D.D., Roxbury.—"The United States Weather Review"; and the weather maps, in continuation.
- HOAR, Hon. GEORGE F., Worcester.—Thirty-three books; fifteen hundred and fifty-four pamphlets; eighteen heliotypes; four proclamations; three portraits; and seven files of newspapers, in continuation.
- HOAR, ROCKWOOD, Worcester.—One hundred and eight pamphlets.
- LINCOLN, WALDO, Worcester.—Ten books; one hundred and sixty-eight pamphlets; collections of letters, 1861-1862, relating to the Civil War; of letters to Pliny Merrick on the anti-Masonic movement of 1829-1830; of deeds, 1780-1850; and a volume of newspapers.
- LOUBAT, JOSEPH F., LL.D., Paris, France.—Sejeal's "L'Archéologie Américaine et les Études Americanistes en France"; Congrès international des Américanistes, 1902; and Codex Vaticanus, No. 3773.
- LOVE, Rev. WILLIAM DeLoss, Ph.D., *Secretary*, Hartford, Conn.—"Record of Five Years of the Class of 1873, Hamilton College, 1898-1903."
- MERRIMAN, Rev. DANIEL, D.D., Worcester.—His Historical Sermon on the 125th Anniversary Celebration of the First Church of Christ in North Conway, August 16, 1903.
- MOORE, CLARENCE B., LL.D., Philadelphia, Pa.—Two of his publications.
- NICHOLS, CHARLES L., M.D., Worcester.—Three early numbers of the Society's Proceedings.
- NOURSE, Hon. HENRY S., South Lancaster.—A facsimile of the first edition of "The Narrative of the Captivity and Restoration of Mrs. Mary Rowlandson," edited by Mr Nourse; and two pamphlets.
- PAINE, NATHANIEL, Worcester.—His "School-Day Reminiscences"; three books; fifty-nine pamphlets; the "Boston Evening Transcript," in continuation; and miscellaneous newspapers.
- PEET, STEPHEN D., Ph.D., *Editor*, Chicago, Ill.—"The American Antiquarian and Oriental Journal," as issued.
- PRITCHETT, HENRY S., LL.D., Boston.—His report of 1903 as President of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology; and the Annual Catalogue, 1902-1903.

ROGERS, HON. HORATIO, *Commissioner*, Providence.—“Early Records of the Town of Providence,” vol. 17.

RUSSELL, E. HARLOW, *Principal*, Worcester.—Catalogue of the Massachusetts State Normal School at Worcester, for 1903.

SALISBURY, HON. STEPHEN, Worcester.—Twenty-five copies of “The Chandler Family,” by Mrs. E. O. P. Sturgis; four books; one hundred and sixty-five pamphlets; and four files of newspapers, in continuation.

VEDDER, REV. CHARLES S., LL.D., Charleston, S. C.—His address at the unveiling of the tablet to Mrs. Rebecca Motte, Charleston, May 3, 1903.

WEEDEN, WILLIAM B., Providence, R. I.—His “The Art of Weaving: A Handmaid of Civilization.”

WRIGHT, CARROLL D., LL.D., Washington, D. C.—“Report to the President on the Anthracite Coal Strike of May—October, 1902.”

FROM PERSONS NOT MEMBERS.

ADAMS, CHARLES T., New York.—His “Matthew Thornton of New Hampshire.”

AMERICAN INVENTOR PUBLISHING COMPANY, Washington, D. C.—Numbers of “The American Inventor.”

APPLETON, D., AND COMPANY, New York.—“Appleton’s Bulletin,” as issued.

BALCH, THOMAS W., Philadelphia, Pa.—His “The Alaska Frontier.”

BARTON, CLARENCE W., *Editor*, Riverside, Cal.—Numbers of “The Riverside Express.”

BARTON, MISS LYDIA M., Worcester.—“The Association Record,” in continuation.

BATCHELLER, ROBERT, North Brookfield.—Frances Bartlett’s “Story of Old Brookfield.”

BATCHELLOR, ALBERT S., Concord, N. H.—His “Tenure of Office of the Judges of the Supreme Court of the State under the Constitution.”

BEALE, CHARLES C., Boston.—His “Early American Shorthand Writers.”

BEER, WILLIAM, New Orleans, La.—An early view of New Orleans.

BEVEREDGE, HON. ALBERT J., Indianapolis, Ind.—His “Shiloh Address,” 1903.

BOSTON BOOK COMPANY.—“The Bulletin of Bibliography,” as issued.

BROWN, FREEMAN, *Clerk*, Worcester.—Annual Report of the Worcester Board of Overseers of the Poor for 1902.

BULLARD, REV. HENRY, D.D., St. Joseph, Mo.—His Easter Sermon, April 12, 1903.

- BURNSIDE, HEIRS OF MISS HARRIET P. F., Worcester.—Two hundred and seventy books; nine hundred and seventy-seven pamphlets; twelve bound volumes of newspapers; six manuscript volumes; ten wall maps; four trunks; and miscellaneous newspapers.
- BUTTERWORTH & COMPANY, London, Eng.—Numbers of "The Willis-Byron Club Bulletin"; and of the "Law Book Review."
- CANFIELD, Miss PENELOPE W. S., Worcester.—"The United States Army and Navy Journal," in continuation; and two pamphlets.
- CARPENTER, Rev. CHARLES C., Andover.—"Biographical Catalogue of Phillips Academy, Andover, Massachusetts, 1778-1830."
- CHAMBERLIN, Mrs. ELIZABETH F. P., Worcester.—"The Harvard Book," in two volumes; and an English and Classical Dictionary 1813.
- CLARK, Mrs. GEORGE M., Worcester.—"New York Collection of Sacred Harmony," 1804.
- CORNISH, LOUIS H., *Publisher*, New York.—"The Spirit of '76," as issued.
- CRAWFORD, *Lord*, Wigan, Eng.—"Bibliotheca Lindesiana, Collations and Notes," No. 7.
- CROMACK, IRWIN C., Boston.—List of maps of Boston, published 1614-1822; and seven maps of Boston streets.
- CUNNINGHAM, HENRY W., Boston.—An engraved portrait of Sir Humphrey Gilbert.
- DAVIES, Rev. THOMAS F., *Jr.*, *Editor*, Worcester.—"The Parish," as issued.
- DAVIS, CHARLES E., Worcester.—One book; and two pamphlets.
- DAVIS, CHARLES H., Worcester.—Thirty-five rare pamphlets relating to the persecution of the English Quakers.
- DE MENIL, ALEXANDER N., St. Louis, Mo.—"The Hesperian," as issued.
- DODGE, JAMES H., *City Auditor*, Boston.—His Report for 1902-1903.
- DRURY, FRANK H., Chicago, Ill.—Worcester Almanac Directory for 1854.
- DUNN, DWIGHT F., Worcester.—Thirty-eight books; and thirty-three pamphlets.
- EDMONDS, JOHN H., Boston.—Annual Report of Boston Street Laying-out Department for 1896.
- FOX, IRVING P., *Manager*, Boston.—"The Church Militant," as issued.
- FROWDE, HENRY, London, Eng.—"The Periodical," as issued.
- GAY, JULIUS, Farmington, Conn.—His "Historical Address at Farmington, Conn., September 9, 1903."

- GODDARD, LUCIUS P., Worcester.—Seventy-seven books; eight hundred and sixty pamphlets; thirty-four heliotypes; two portraits; and "The Barre Gazette" for 1865-1866.
- GOLDEN RULE PUBLISHING COMPANY, Boston.—"The Christian Endeavor World," as issued.
- GREEN, CHAUNCY H., Littleton, N. H.—Journals of the Diocese of New Hampshire for 1875, 1877-1899 and 1902.
- GREEN, MARTIN, Worcester.—Seventeen books; two hundred and twenty-five pamphlets; and a collection of newspaper clippings.
- GREGSON, Rev. JOHN, Littleton, N. H.—His "The Church, its relation to the Grange"; and one pamphlet.
- HALL, JAMES S., M.D., Worcester.—Three hundred and twenty-five numbers of magazines.
- HARPER AND BROTHERS, New York.—Montague's "Rise and Progress of the Standard Oil Company."
- HARRIMAN, Rev. FREDERICK W., D.D., *Secretary*, Windsor, Conn.—Journal of the Convention of the Diocese of Connecticut, 1903.
- HARRIS, HENRY F., Worcester.—Six books; five hundred and eighty-one pamphlets; and "The Home Market Bulletin," 1894-1898.
- HILL, Miss FRANCES A., Worcester.—Sixty-nine books; seventeen pamphlets; and one photograph.
- HOSHI, HAJIME, *Publisher*, New York.—"Japan and America," as issued.
- HOUGHTON, MIFFLIN & COMPANY, Cambridge.—"The Riverside Bulletin," as issued.
- ILES, GEORGE, New York.—His Appeal for a Headquarters for the American Library Association.
- JOHNSON, CLIFTON, *Editor*, Hadley.—Jacob Abbott's "A Boy on a Farm."
- JUSSERAND, J. J., *Ambassadeur de France*, Washington, D. C.—"Les Combattants Français de la Guerre Americaine, 1778-1783."
- KENT, DANIEL, Worcester.—His "Land Records. A System of Indexing."
- KIRKLAND, O. A., Baltimore, Md.—One book.
- KNIGHT, HENRY S., M.D., Worcester.—Twenty-five books; and three hundred pamphlets.
- LASHER, GEORGE F., Philadelphia, Pa.—Numbers of "The United States Postal Guide."
- LAWRENCE, FRANK, Worcester.—One photograph.
- LEADER PUBLISHING COMPANY, New York.—Numbers of "The Leader."
- LEYPOLDT, Mrs. AUGUSTA H., New York.—"The Literary News," as issued.



- LONGMANS, GREEN & COMPANY, New York.—“Notes on Books,” as issued.
- LUCE, EDWIN B., Worcester.—Five photographs.
- MCALPHER, GEORGE, M.D., Worcester.—His “A Pilgrimage to Our Lady of Lourdes at Nazareth in Leicester.”
- MCGLENEN, EDWARD W., *City Registrar*, Boston.—The tenth and the thirteenth reports of the Record Commissioners.
- MACDONALD & WILLIAMS, Putnam, Conn.—“Reminiscences of Putnam.”
- MACMILLAN COMPANY, New York.—“Book Reviews”; and “The Monthly List,” as issued.
- MESSINGER COMPANY, Worcester.—“The Messenger,” as issued.
- MILLER, Miss LUCY, Worcester.—Thirteen books; one hundred and ninety pamphlets; three manuscripts; and a collection of Worcester and Boston newspapers.
- MOORE AND COMPANY, Leyton, Eng.—“The Monthly Gazette of Current Literature,” as issued.
- MUNROE AND MUNROE, New York.—“The Weekly Marconigram,” as issued.
- MURRAY, THOMAS H., Boston.—Danaher’s “Early Irish in Old Albany, N. Y.”
- NELSON, WILLIAM, Paterson, N. J.—His “Fifty Years of Historical Work in New Jersey.”
- NEW YORK EVENING POST PRINTING COMPANY.—“The Nation,” as issued.
- NUTT, CHARLES, Worcester.—“The Worcester Spy”; and “The Massachusetts Spy,” as issued.
- OWENS, THOMAS M., *Editor*, Montgomery, Ala.—Numbers of “The Gulf States Historical Magazine.”
- PATTERSON, JOHN H., Dayton, O.—Conover’s “Concerning the Forefathers of Col. Robert Patterson and Col. John Johnston.”
- PENAFIEL, ANTONIO, *Director*, Mexico, Mex.—Three documents of the Republic of Mexico.
- REED, Mrs. CHARLES G., Worcester.—Nineteen books; one hundred and six pamphlets; three portraits; a book-rest; and an easel.
- RESEARCH PUBLISHING COMPANY, Boston.—Numbers of “The Genealogical Quarterly Magazine.”
- RICHMOND, GEORGE H., New York.—“The Rare Book Bulletin,” as issued.
- ROBINSON, Mrs. CHARLES, Lawrence, Kansas.—Her “Reply to T. W. H. in “Boston Advertiser.”
- ROBINSON, Miss MARY, Worcester.—Two magazines, in continuation

- ROSENGARTEN, JOSEPH G., Philadelphia, Pa.—Three of his own publications.
- ROY, PIERRE GEORGES, Levis, Canada.—One pamphlet.
- SCHNEIDER, LOUIS H., *Editor*, Boston.—Numbers of "The Boston Plain Dealer."
- SENTINEL PRINTING COMPANY, Fitchburg.—"The Fitchburg Weekly Sentinel," as issued.
- SHAW, JOSEPH A., Worcester.—Thirty-two numbers of magazines.
- SLAFTER, Rev. EDMUND F., D.D., Boston.—His "Remarks on the Character of William Sumner Appleton."
- SMITH, Misses HARRIET A. AND SARAH M., Worcester.—One hundred and thirty-three books; one hundred and six pamphlets; two manuscripts; and one bound volume of newspapers.
- SMITH, JOHN G., Worcester.—Fourteen books; and fifteen maps.
- SMITH, JUSTIN H., Hanover, N. H.—His "Arnold's March from Cambridge to Quebec, A Critical Study together with a Reprint of Arnold's Journal."
- SOUTHER, WILLIAM T., M.D., Worcester.—Three books; and sixty pamphlets.
- SOUTHGATE, REUBEN H., Worcester.—A manuscript of Elihu Burritt, "The Learned Blacksmith."
- SPOONER, Mrs. JENNIE C., Barre.—"The Barre Gazette," as issued.
- STOECKEL, CARL, Norfolk, Conn.—"Correspondence of John Sedgwick, Major-General," vol. 2.
- TELEGRAM NEWSPAPER COMPANY, Worcester.—"The Worcester Daily Telegram"; and "The Sunday Telegram," in continuation.
- THOMPSON, FRANCIS H., Greenfield.—"Sketch of the Life and Character of John Leavitt."
- THURSTON, Mrs. FRANK E., Worcester.—Nine books.
- TOWNLEY, JOSEPH B., Worcester.—Nine pamphlets.
- TRAVELER'S INSURANCE COMPANY.—"The Traveler's Record," as issued.
- TURNER, JOHN H., Ayer.—"The Groton Landmark," as issued.
- VAN HORN, Rev. FRANCIS J., D.D., *Editor*, Worcester.—"The Old South Record," as issued.
- WAITES, ALFRED, Worcester.—His "A Brief Account of John Milton and his Declaration of Independence."
- WALKER, Hon. JOSEPH H., Worcester.—Seventy books; sixty-one pamphlets; and five maps.
- WARREN, WILLIAM F., LL.D., Boston.—His Report of June 3, 1903, as President of Boston University.

- WASHBURN, HOB. CHARLES G., Worcester.—Nine books.
- WELCHER, ADAIR, San Francisco, Cal.—His "A Dream of Realms Beyond Us."
- WESBY, HERBERT, Worcester.—Nine books; and fifty-seven pamphlets.
- WESBY, JOSEPH S., & SONS, Worcester.—Thirteen books; six hundred and twenty-one pamphlets; one hundred and seven portraits; and two files of newspapers, in continuation.
- WHEELER, HENRY M., Worcester.—His "Thomas Street School," Worcester, Mass.
- WHITE, MRS. CAROLINE E., *Editor*, Philadelphia, Pa.—"The Journal of Zoöphily," as issued.
- WHITE, REV. ELIOT, *Secretary*, Worcester.—Journals of the Diocese of Western Massachusetts, 1901-1903.
- WHITE & WARNER, *Publishers*, Hartford, Conn.—"Trolley trips through Southern New England."
- WILLIAMS & NORGATE, London, Eng.—Numbers of "The International Book Circular."
- WOODWARD, LEMUEL F., M.D., Worcester.—Three books; and eighty-seven pamphlets.
- WORCESTER GAZETTE COMPANY.—"The Evening Gazette," as issued.

## FROM SOCIETIES AND INSTITUTIONS.

- ABBOT ACADEMY, Andover.—Six numbers of "The Abbot Courant."
- ACADEMY OF NATURAL SCIENCES OF PHILADELPHIA.—Publications of the Academy, as issued.
- AMERICAN ACADEMY OF ARTS AND SCIENCES.—Publications of the Academy, as issued.
- AMERICAN ANTI-VIVISECTION SOCIETY.—The Twentieth Annual Report.
- AMERICAN BAPTIST MISSIONARY UNION.—"The Baptist Missionary Magazine," as issued.
- AMERICAN CATHOLIC HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PHILADELPHIA.—Publications of the Society, as issued.
- AMERICAN CONGREGATIONAL ASSOCIATION.—"Celebration of the Fiftieth Anniversary."
- AMERICAN GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY.—Publications of the Society, as issued.
- AMERICAN PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY.—Publications of the Society, as issued.
- AMERICAN SEAMEN'S FRIEND SOCIETY.—"The Sailor's Magazine," as issued.
- AMERICAN STATISTICAL ASSOCIATION.—Publications of the Association, as issued.

- AUSTRALIAN MUSEUM.—Publications of the Museum, as issued.
- BAY STATE HISTORICAL LEAGUE.—One pamphlet.
- BIBLIOTECA NAZIONALE CENTRALE DI FIRENZE.—Library publications, as issued.
- BOSTON BOARD OF HEALTH.—Publications of the Board, as issued.
- BOSTON CITY HOSPITAL TRUSTEES.—The Thirty-ninth Annual Report.
- BOSTON PORT AND SEAMEN'S AID SOCIETY.—The Thirty-sixth Annual Report.
- BOSTON PUBLIC LIBRARY.—Library publications, as issued.
- BOWDOIN COLLEGE LIBRARY.—Annual Report for 1902-1903.
- BROOKLINE PUBLIC LIBRARY.—Library publications, as issued.
- BROOKLYN INSTITUTE OF ARTS AND SCIENCES.—Publications of the Institute, as issued.
- BROOKLYN PUBLIC LIBRARY.—Library publications, as issued.
- BROWN UNIVERSITY.—The Catalogue of 1902-1903.
- BUNKER HILL MONUMENT ASSOCIATION.—Proceedings of the Association, 1903.
- BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY.—Publications of the Bureau, as issued.
- CAMBRIDGE ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.—Publications of the Society, as issued.
- CANADA GEOLOGICAL SURVEY.—The Annual Report for 1899, vol. 12.
- CAPE COD PILGRIM MEMORIAL ASSOCIATION.—One pamphlet.
- CINCINNATI PUBLIC LIBRARY.—Library publications, as issued.
- COLORADO COLLEGE.—Publications of the College, as issued.
- COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY.—"The Political Science Quarterly," as issued.
- CONFEDERATE ROSTER COMMISSION.—Their Report and Recommendations.
- CONNECTICUT ACADEMY OF ARTS AND SCIENCES.—Publications of the Academy, as issued.
- CONNECTICUT HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Thirteen pamphlets relating to the Navigation of the Connecticut River; and the Society's publications, as issued.
- CONNECTICUT STATE LIBRARY.—One book; and a proclamation.
- DEDHAM HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Publications of the Society, as issued.
- ESSEX INSTITUTE.—Publications of the Institute, as issued.
- FAIRMOUNT PARK ASSOCIATION.—Publications of the Association, as issued.
- FIELD COLUMBIAN MUSEUM.—Publications of the Museum, as issued.
- FITCHBURG RAILROAD COMPANY.—The Sixty-second Annual Report.

GENERAL THEOLOGICAL LIBRARY, Boston.—Annual Report for the Year 1902-3.

GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY OF PHILADELPHIA.—Publications of the Society, as issued.

HARTFORD THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.—Publications of the Seminary, as issued.

HAVERHILL PUBLIC LIBRARY.—Library publications, as issued.

HELENA PUBLIC LIBRARY.—Library publications, as issued.

HISTORICAL DEPARTMENT OF IOWA.—"The Annals of Iowa," as issued.

HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA.—Publications of the Society, as issued.

HISTORISCHER VEREIN DER OBERPFALZ UND REGENSBURG.—Publications of the Society, as issued.

INTERNATIONAL BUREAU OF AMERICAN REPUBLICS.—"The Monthly Bulletin," as issued.

JACOB TOME INSTITUTE, Port Deposit, Md.—The Annual Catalogue for 1903-1904.

JERSEY CITY PUBLIC LIBRARY.—Library publications, as issued.

JOHN CRERAR LIBRARY, Chicago, Ill.—The Eighth Annual Report.

JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY.—Publications of the University, as issued.

LANCASTER TOWN LIBRARY.—The Fortieth Annual Report.

LAWRENCE ACADEMY, Groton.—"Massachusetts' Most Famous School Town."

LELAND STANFORD JUNIOR UNIVERSITY LIBRARY.—The Register for 1902-03.

LIBRARY COMPANY OF PHILADELPHIA.—Library publications, as issued.

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.—Library publications, as issued.

MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Publications of the Society, as issued.

MASSACHUSETTS AGRICULTURAL COLLEGE.—The College publications, as issued.

MASSACHUSETTS, COMMONWEALTH OF.—Fourteen volumes of the Vital Records of Massachusetts Towns; three books; and one pamphlet.

MASSACHUSETTS DIOCESAN LIBRARY.—The Twentieth Annual Report.

MASSACHUSETTS GENERAL HOSPITAL TRUSTEES.—The Eighty-ninth Annual Report.

MASSACHUSETTS GRAND LODGE OF ANCIENT FREE AND ACCEPTED MASONS.—Proceedings of the Grand Lodge, as issued.

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Publications of the Society, as issued.

MASSACHUSETTS INFANT ASYLUM.—The Thirty-sixth Annual Report.  
MASSACHUSETTS MEDICAL SOCIETY.—Publications of the Society, as issued.

MASSACHUSETTS METROPOLITAN WATER AND SEWERAGE BOARD.—  
The Second Annual Report.

MASSACHUSETTS STATE BOARD OF HEALTH.—Publications of the Board, as issued.

MASSACHUSETTS WOMAN'S RELIEF CORPS.—Journal of the Twentieth National Convention.

MILLBURY, TOWN OF.—The Town Report of 1903.

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Publications of the Society, as issued.

MUSEO NACIONAL DE MÉXICO.—Publications of the Museum, as issued.

NEBRASKA STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Publications of the Society, as issued.

NEWARK FREE PUBLIC LIBRARY.—The Fourteenth Annual Report.

NEW ENGLAND ANTI-IMPERIALIST LEAGUE.—Publications of the League, as issued.

NEW ENGLAND HISTORIC GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY.—Publications of the Society, as issued.

NEW HAMPSHIRE STATE LIBRARY.—Library publications, as issued.

NEW JERSEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Publications of the Society, as issued.

NEW YORK ACADEMY OF SCIENCES.—Publications of the Academy, as issued.

NEW YORK GENEALOGICAL AND BIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY.—Publications of the Society, as issued.

NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Collections of the Society, 1895.

NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY.—Library publications, as issued.

NEW YORK STATE HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.—Proceedings of the Annual Meeting, 1903.

NEW YORK STATE LIBRARY.—Fifteen books; and ten pamphlets.

NOVA SCOTIA INSTITUTE OF SCIENCE.—Publications of the Institute, as issued.

OHIO STATE ARCHEOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Publications of the Society, as issued.

OREGON HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Publications of the Society, as issued.

PARK COLLEGE.—"The Park Review," as issued.

PEABODY INSTITUTE OF BALTIMORE.—The Thirty-sixth Annual Report.

PORTLAND BOARD OF TRADE.—"The Board of Trade Journal," as issued.

- REFORM CLUB, New York.—"Sound Currency," as issued.
- REPUBLICA MEXICANA.—Two statistical reports of 1901.
- RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Publications of the Society, as issued.
- RHODE ISLAND STATE BOARD OF HEALTH.—The Twenty-second Annual Report.
- ROYAL SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF IRELAND.—Publications of the Society, as issued.
- ROYAL UNIVERSITY LIBRARY, Upsala, Sweden.—University publications, as issued.
- ST. LOUIS MERCANTILE LIBRARY ASSOCIATION.—The Fifty-seventh Annual Report.
- SALEM PUBLIC LIBRARY.—Library publications, as issued.
- SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION.—Publications of the Institution, as issued.
- SOCIÉTÉ DES AMERICANISTES DE PARIS.—Publications of the Society, as issued.
- SOCIÉTÉ NATIONALE DES ANTIQUAIRES DE FRANCE.—Publications of the Society, as issued.
- SOCIÉTÉ D'ARCHÉOLOGIE DE BRUXELLES.—Publications of the Society, as issued.
- SOCIÉTÉ DE GÉOGRAPHIE, Paris, France.—Publications of the Society, as issued.
- SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF LONDON.—Publications of the Society, as issued.
- SOCIETY OF THE ARMY OF THE POTOMAC.—Proceedings at the Thirty-fourth Annual Reunion, June 25, 26, 1903.
- SPRINGFIELD CITY LIBRARY ASSOCIATION.—Library publications, as issued.
- STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF IOWA.—Publications of the Society, as issued.
- STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF WISCONSIN.—Publications of the Society, as issued.
- TEXAS STATE HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.—Publications of the Association, as issued.
- UNITED STATES BUREAU OF EDUCATION.—Publications of the Bureau, as issued.
- UNITED STATES CENSUS DEPARTMENT.—"The Census Bulletin," as issued.
- UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE.—Two pamphlets.
- UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR.—Two pamphlets and one map.
- UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF LABOR.—The Bulletin, as issued.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE.—Four pamphlets.

UNITED STATES PATENT OFFICE.—Report of the Commissioner, 1902.

UNITED STATES SUPERINTENDENT OF PUBLIC DOCUMENTS.—Seventy-four books; and two hundred and eight pamphlets.

UNITED STATES SURGEON-GENERAL'S OFFICE LIBRARY.—Index Catalogue of the Library, vol. 5, new series; and "The Medical and Surgical History of the Civil War."

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA.—University publications, as issued.

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS.—Publications of the University, as issued.

UNIVERSITY OF MONTANA.—Publications of the University, as issued.

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO.—University publications, as issued.

UNIVERSITY OF VERMONT LIBRARY.—The Catalogue of 1902-1903.

VERMONT HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Publications of the Society, as issued.

VICTORIA PUBLIC LIBRARY, Perth, Australia.—Library publications, as issued.

VIRGINIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Publications of the Society, as issued.

WESLEYAN UNIVERSITY.—University publications, as issued.

WEST VIRGINIA HISTORICAL AND ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.—Publications of the Society, as issued.

WORCESTER ART MUSEUM TRUSTEES.—Catalogue of the sixth exhibition of oil paintings; and the annual report, 1903.

WORCESTER BOARD OF HEALTH.—Publications of the Board, as issued.

WORCESTER BOARD OF TRADE.—"The Worcester Magazine," as issued.

WORCESTER CITY HOSPITAL TRUSTEES.—The Thirty-first and Thirty-second Annual Reports.

WORCESTER COUNTY INSTITUTION FOR SAVINGS.—One book.

WORCESTER COUNTY LAW LIBRARY.—Twenty-two books; forty-six pamphlets; and "The Boston Daily Advertiser," in continuation.

WORCESTER FREE PUBLIC LIBRARY.—Seventeen books; two hundred and twenty-seven pamphlets; and eighty-seven files of newspapers, in continuation.

WORCESTER SOCIETY OF ANTIQUITY.—Publications of the Society, as issued.

YALE UNIVERSITY.—Two pamphlets.

YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY.—The Tenth Annual Report.

YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION OF NORTH AMERICA.—Three publications of the Association.



## THE LAND BANK MORTGAGES IN WORCESTER COUNTY.

BY ANDREW McFARLAND DAVIS.

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THE articles of the Land Bank, recorded in Suffolk Deeds, Vol. 60, Fol. 21, bear date September 8, 1740. The bills then emitted bore date September 9, 1740, and the mortgages then prepared for execution by those who should become borrowers of the company bills upon real security were dated September 9. Setting aside consideration of the records in other counties and turning to Worcester County alone, we find that the first Land Bank mortgage was executed September 27th, and lodged for record on the same day. Two were lodged for record on the 29th; two on the 30th, and forty-six during the month of October. November saw sixty-two of them deposited for record with the Register of Deeds, while in December, the number lodged for record fell off to fifty-four. The shrinkage continued during the months of January, February and March, 1741, the number of mortgages left for record during these months being respectively, 20, 13 and 82, at which point my own knowledge of the matter ceases, and presumably also the active operations of the company as a lender of bills ceased about that time. We know from various sources that the violent opposition of the government seriously affected the affairs of the company, even before the news arrived of the passage by Parliament of the act for restraining and preventing several unwarrantable schemes in his Majesty's colonies and plantations in America.

It must not be forgotten, however, that the business transacted in October, November and December represented the response of Worcester County under the pressure of an enthusiastic welcome to a supposed relief for an alleged want of a circulating medium, and that the field in which the company could work was very much reduced after securing the one hundred and sixty-seven mortgages issued prior to January 1, 1741.

The activity of the government in opposition became pronounced in December, 1740, when orders were issued to Registers of Deeds to report to the council the names of mortgagors to the company, and proclamations were issued by the governor to the civil and military officers of the Province, forbidding them to deal with the company or to receive or pass the manufactory bills. It is through the letters of John Chandler, Register of Deeds, in response to the above order, that we are furnished with the particulars concerning the mortgages above given, for so far as can now be ascertained none of these mortgages was recorded. They were entitled upon their face to record and elsewhere the Registers of Deeds recorded them. At any rate the Land Bank mortgages were recorded in the Suffolk Registry and in the Essex Registry, where I have examined them. In the Worcester Registry I personally made an unsuccessful search for mortgages to the Land Bank, while prosecuting my researches as to that company in a general way. Not finding anything, I attributed my failure to the inadequacy of my notes and resolved to try again at a later day. Baffled again, I ultimately inquired of the Register of Deeds if there were any books or indexes other than those where I had made my search. I explained that these mortgages had been reported as left for record, and that no search that I could make, grantor or grantee, revealed any of them. He said that so far as he knew no book was missing from the Registry, and that my search had covered the proper ground. Further, he

volunteered, if I would furnish him with a list of names, to institute a search himself. In response to this I furnished a list of grantors, and gave the various titles under which the Land Bank or Manufactory Scheme might have been entered in a grantee index. I also furnished a list of the Directors, whose names might perhaps have been entered as grantees in an index. His letter, which I submit herewith, shows that if the Register of Deeds ever recorded these Land Bank mortgages, the book in which they were recorded has disappeared. For this reason the list of the Worcester County mortgagors, made up from the records in the archives, has a value which probably would not attach to one prepared with reference to any other County.

Commonwealth of Massachusetts.  
County of Worcester.

Oct. 31, 1899.

A. McF. DAVIS, Esq.;

Dear Sir:—

In relation to the matter of mortgages to the Land Bank, I find but three instruments running to the Land Bank Commissioners, and these were recorded in 1752. They are from Solomon Wood, Jr., Josiah Robinson and Perley Howe, and are Warrants of Distress. They are recorded in Book 29, Pages 483, 485 and 486. The Manufactory Company is also grantee in above-named instruments, and I find nothing else running to the Manufactory Company.

I find but two instruments running to Robert Auchmuty; these are mortgages; one from David Baldwin, Jr., recorded in 1767, Book 56, Page 379; the other from Aaron Willard, recorded in 1771, Book 66, Page 168.

I find but two instruments running to Samuel Adams between 1731 and 1783; these are deeds; one from Seth Aldrich, recorded in 1732, Book 3, Page 184; the other from David Batchellor, recorded in 1735, Book 6, Page 187.

I find but one mortgage running to Peter Chardon; that is from Andrew Harper, recorded in 1742, Book 15, Page 218.

I find but one instrument running to Samuel Watts; that is a deed from the States Committee, recorded in 1753, Book 32, Page 123.

There is but one instrument running to George Leonard,

recorded between 1731 and 1785; that is an execution against Edward Aldrich, recorded in 1785, in Book 93, Page 139.

I find nothing running to John Choate, Thomas Cheever, William Stoddard or Robert Hale between 1731 and 1800.

I believe the above list embraces the names of all the grantees you sent me.

By referring to the History of Worcester County, I find John Chandler was Register of Deeds from 1731 to 1762, and died in 1763.

I enclose herewith the list you sent me.

Yours truly,

HARVEY B. WILDER.

List of those who mortgaged real property in Worcester County to the Land Bank of 1740, made up from the reports of the Register of Deeds to the Council, to which the names of certain other residents of the County are added, who from evidence derived from other sources were subscribers to the Bank or borrowers of its bills:—

| NAME.                 | RESIDENCE. | NAME.                 | RESIDENCE.  |
|-----------------------|------------|-----------------------|-------------|
| Abbott, Jonathan,     | Andover.   | Chapin, Ebenezer,     | Mendon.     |
| Adams, Josiah,        | Mendon.    | Chapin, John,         | Mendon.     |
| Aldrich, Edward,      | Uxbridge.  | Chase, Philip,        | Sutton.     |
| Aldrich, Jacob,       | Uxbridge.  | Child, Ebenezer,      | Woodstock.  |
| Aldrich, Seth,        | Uxbridge.  | Child, Jonathan,      | Grafton.    |
| Aspinwall, Nathaniel, | Woodstock. | Child, Joshua,        | Worcester.  |
| Bailey, Josiah,       | Lunenburg. | Clark, Robert,        | Uxbridge.   |
| Baldwin, David,       | Leicester. | Commins, Jacob,       | Oxford.     |
| Baldwin, Samuel,      | Leicester. | Conant, Benjamin,     | Dudley.     |
| Barber, Robert,       | Worcester. | Corbin, Eli,          | Woodstock.  |
| Batchelder, David,    | Grafton.   | Corbin, Jabes,        | Woodstock.  |
| Batchelder, Joseph,   | Wenham.    | Damon, John,          | Uxbridge.   |
| Benson, Benoni,       | Mendon.    | Damon, Joseph,        | Uxbridge.   |
| Bigelow, Daniel,      | Worcester. | Darling, John,        | Mendon.     |
| Bolster, Isaac,       | Uxbridge.  | Davidson, John,       | Dudley.     |
| Bosworth, Henry,      | Mendon.    | Davis, Barnabas,      | Littleton.  |
| Boyce, Benjamin, Jr., | Mendon.    | Davis, Ebenezer,      | Harvard.    |
| Boyce, David,         | Mendon.    | Davis, Joseph,        | Worcester.  |
| Boyden, Daniel,       | Worcester. | Davis, Joshua,        | Woodstock.  |
| Boyden, John,         | Worcester. | Deming, Joseph, Jr.,  | Woodstock.  |
| Brown, John,          | Leicester. | Drew, Thomas,         | Grafton.    |
| Brown, Luke,          | Worcester. | Drury, Thomas,        | Grafton.    |
| Brown, Samuel,        | Leicester. | Dudley, Samuel,       | Sutton.     |
| Brown, William,       | Leicester. | Eager, Benjamin,      | Shrewsbury. |
| Brown, Zachariah,     | Leicester. | Edmonds, Ebenezer,    | Dudley.     |
| Buss or Bass, John,   | Lancaster. | Emerson, Nathaniel,   | Mendon.     |
| Call, Samuel,         | Oxford.    | Esty, Isaac,          | Sutton.     |
| Capeen, Samuel,       | Leicester. | Farnsworth, Benjamin, | Groton.     |
| Chaffe, Joel,         | Woodstock. | Farnsworth, Isaac,    | Groton.     |
| Chaffe, Joseph,       | Woodstock. | Farnsworth, Jonathan, | Harvard.    |

|                            |                     |                      |               |
|----------------------------|---------------------|----------------------|---------------|
| Farnsworth, Jonathan, Jr., | Harvard.            | Moffat, William,     | Lunenburg.    |
| Farnum, John, Jr.,         | Uxbridge.           | Moore, James,        | Worcester.    |
| Faye, Moses,               | Southborough.       | Morse, Benjamin,     | Sutton.       |
| Fish, Stephen,             | Uxbridge.           | Morse, Edmund,       | Mendon.       |
| Gaskell, Jonathan,         | Mendon.             | Morse, Edward,       | Mendon.       |
| Goodrich, Benjamin,        | Lunenburg.          | Morse, Samuel,       | Mendon.       |
| Gould, Benjamin,           | Lunenburg.          | Nelson, Jonathan,    | Upton.        |
| Gould, David,              | Groton.             | Nelson, Nathaniel,   | Mendon.       |
| Goulding, Palmer,          | Worcester.          | Newton, Aaron,       | Shrewsbury.   |
| Graton, John,              | Leicester.          | Newton, Isaac,       | Southborough. |
| Grout, John,               | Lunenburg.          | Nichols, Jonathan,   | Sutton.       |
| Hall, David,               | Sutton.             | Nichols, Joshua,     | Brookfield.   |
| Hall, Zacheus,             | Sutton.             | Nichols, Joshua,     | Leicester.    |
| Hall, Zecharia,            | Sutton.             | Norcross, Jeremiah,  | Lunenburg.    |
| Harback, Thomas,           | Sutton.             | Page, Christopher,   | Hardwick.     |
| Hardy, Aaron,              | Grafton.            | Page, David,         | Lunenburg.    |
| Harper, Andrew,            | Harvard.            | Paine, Ebeneser,     | Woodstock.    |
| Harwood, Benjamin,         | Grafton.            | Parks, Nathan,       | Uxbridge.     |
| Harwood, John,             | Uxbridge.           | Perry, John,         | Grafton.      |
| Haseltine, Daniel,         | Mendon.             | Platt, Abel,         | Lunenburg.    |
| Haseltine, John,           | Upton.              | Plummer, David,      | Lunenburg.    |
| Hedge, Elisha,             | Worcester.          | Potter, John,        | Leicester.    |
| Heywood, Eleaser,          | Worcester.          | Potter, Nathaniel,   | Leicester.    |
| Hicks, John,               | Sutton or Westboro. | Pratt, Phineas,      | Worcester.    |
| Holbrook, John,            | Grafton.            | Prentice, Solomon,   | Grafton.      |
| Holden, James,             | Worcester.          | Proctor, Jonathan,   | Harvard.      |
| Holden, Samuel,            | Worcester.          | Putnam, Elisha,      | Sutton.       |
| Holman, Solomon,           | Sutton.             | Putnam, Isaac,       | Sutton.       |
| Howe, James,               | Worcester.          | Read, Ebeneser,      | Uxbridge.     |
| Howe, Moses,               | Rutland.            | Read, John,          | Uxbridge.     |
| Howe, Perley,              | Dudley.             | Read, Samuel,        | Lunenburg.    |
| Howe, Samuel,              | Worcester.          | Reed, Samuel,        | Uxbridge.     |
| Jackson, James,            | Leicester.          | Rice, Eliakim,       | Worcester.    |
| Jepperson, Thomas,         | New Sherburne.      | Rice, Gershom,       | Worcester.    |
| Johnson, Benjamin,         | Leicester.          | Rice, Gershom, Jr.,  | Worcester.    |
| Johnson, William,          | Worcester.          | Rice, Jotham,        | Worcester.    |
| Jones, William,            | Lunenburg.          | Rice, Mathias,       | Worcester.    |
| Keith, George,             | Mendon.             | Rice, Moses,         | Rutland.      |
| Keith, Gershom,            | Uxbridge.           | Rice, Peres,         | Sutton.       |
| Keith, Isaac,              | Uxbridge.           | Rice, Phineas,       | Stow.         |
| Keith, Israel,             | Uxbridge.           | Rice, Thomas,        | Uxbridge.     |
| Keith, Job,                | Mendon.             | Rich, Thomas,        | Brookfield.   |
| Keith, Simon,              | Mendon.             | Richardson, William, | Lancaster.    |
| Keyes, Solomon,            | Brookfield.         | Robbins, Eleaser,    | Harvard.      |
| Kinney, Daniel,            | New Sherburne.      | Robinson, Josiah,    | Leicester.    |
| Learned, Isaac, Jr.,       | Oxford.             | Robinson, Samuel,    | Hardwick.     |
| Lee, Henry,                | Worcester.          | Sabin, David,        | Hardwick.     |
| Leland, Benjamin,          | Grafton.            | Sawyer, John,        | Harvard.      |
| Leland, James,             | Grafton.            | Sawyer, Jonathan,    | Harvard.      |
| Leland, Samuel,            | Grafton.            | Scott, Samuel,       | Oxford.       |
| Leonard, Isaac,            | Oxford.             | Severy, Joseph,      | Sutton.       |
| Makepeace, Gershom,        | Brookfield.         | Shaw, John,          | Harvard.      |
| Marsh, Benjamin,           | Sutton.             | Shaw, Joseph,        | Harvard.      |
| Marsh, Joseph,             | New Sherburne.      | Smith, Ebeneser,     | Woodstock.    |
| Mathews, John,             | Southborough.       | Stearns, John,       | Worcester.    |
| McComb, John,              | Brookfield.         | Stearns, Thomas,     | Worcester.    |
| Merritt, Ichabod,          | Leicester.          | Stearry, John,       | Worcester.    |
| Moffat, Joseph,            | Lunenburg.          | Stephens, Israel,    | Grafton.      |

|                     |             |                      |             |
|---------------------|-------------|----------------------|-------------|
| Stephens, Phineas,  | Rutland.    | Wetherbee, Ephraim,  | Lunenburg.  |
| Stockwell, David,   | Sutton.     | Wetherbee, John,     | Harvard.    |
| Stockwell, John,    | Sutton.     | Wheelock, Daniel,    | Uxbridge.   |
| Stone, Simon,       | Harvard.    | Whipple, Jacob,      | Grafton.    |
| Stone, Uriah,       | Leicester.  | Whipple, Joseph,     | Grafton.    |
| Taft, Benjamin,     | Uxbridge.   | Whitcomb, Benjamin,  | Leominster. |
| Taft, John,         | Uxbridge.   | Whitcomb, Heseekiah, | Lancaster.  |
| Taft, Josiah,       | Uxbridge.   | Whitcomb, Jonathan,  | Bolton.     |
| Taft, Mijamin,      | Uxbridge.   | Whitcomb, Joseph,    | Lancaster.  |
| Taft, Robert,       | Mendon.     | White, Aaron,        | Uxbridge.   |
| Taft, Samuel,       | Uxbridge.   | White, John,         | Uxbridge.   |
| Taft, Stephen,      | Uxbridge.   | White, Joseph,       | Uxbridge.   |
| Terry, John,        | Grafton.    | White, Josiah,       | Sutton.     |
| Thayer, Benjamin,   | Mendon.     | White, Thomas        | Uxbridge.   |
| Thayer, David,      | Mendon.     | White, William,      | Mendon.     |
| Thayer, David, Jr., | Mendon.     | Whitney, Jonathan,   | Lunenburg.  |
| Thayer, John,       | Mendon.     | Whittemore, John,    | Leicester.  |
| Thayer, Uriah,      | Mendon.     | Wilson, James,       | Leicester.  |
| Upham, Jabez,       | Brookfield. | Wilson, Samuel,      | Woodstock.  |
| Waite, Nathaniel,   | Leicester.  | Wood, Ezekiel,       | Uxbridge.   |
| Walcott, Nathaniel, | Brookfield. | Wood, James,         | Uxbridge.   |
| Wallis, William,    | Lunenburg.  | Wood, Obadiah,       | Uxbridge.   |
| Ward, Daniel,       | Worcester.  | Wood, Solomon,       | Uxbridge.   |
| Watson, James,      | Leicester.  | Wood, Solomon, Jr.,  | Uxbridge.   |
| Watson, Oliver,     | Leicester.  | Woodbury, Benjamin,  | Sutton.     |
| Watson, William,    | Leicester.  | Wright, James,       | Rutland.    |
| Webb, Nathan,       | Uxbridge.   | Wright, Samuel,      | Rutland.    |
| Weld, Thomas,       | Upton.      |                      |             |

## THE CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE AMERICAN INDIAN TO CIVILIZATION.

BY ALEXANDER F. CHAMBERLAIN.

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FOUR hundred years have come and gone since the land-fall of Columbus, and though the mild Lucayans who first greeted him have long since disappeared from mortal ken, there still dwell in the United States and Canada some four hundred thousand of the race he made known to the Orient, to say nothing of the vastly more numerous Indian population of Mexico, Central and South America, estimated at from fifteen to twenty millions, not including *métis* or mixed-bloods.

But their lot has been a hard one. Mexico, Central America and Peru were, apparently, arrested on the highway to the development of an indigenous culture of a noteworthy type, and elsewhere over the broad area of the double-continent the breath of the "higher" race has blasted the life of the "lower." To the age of "Spanish slaughter and oppression," imitated so closely sometimes by the early colonists of other nationalities, has been added that "century of dishonor," whose gratuitous prolongation we have even now before our eyes, as the records of recent investigations not yet complete abundantly demonstrate.

"The only good Indian is a dead Indian!" said once a soldier-epigrammatist, and the neat untruth seems to have fixed itself firmly in the popular mind. The great

mass of the people are still at the stage of knowledge represented by the declaration of Pope:

“Lo! the poor Indian, whose untutored mind  
Sees God in clouds, or hears Him in the wind;  
His soul proud Science never taught to stray  
Far as the Solar Walk or Milky Way;  
Yet simple Nature to his hope has given,  
Beyond the cloud-topped hills, a humbler heaven;  
Some safer world in depth of woods embraced,  
Some happy island in the watery waste,  
Where slaves once more their native land behold,  
No fiends torment, no Christians thirst for gold.  
To be content his natural desire,  
He asks no angel's wing, no seraph's fire;  
But thinks, admitted to that equal sky,  
His faithful dog shall bear him company.”

Out of this characterization of the American aborigines the vulgar have created a “Mr. Lo,” and imposed him upon not a few of the educated members of the community. Indeed, the examination of certain text-books of history and philosophy leads one to think that their authors have not yet advanced beyond the horizon of Pope.

Since Pope's words were written, however, we have learned something concerning “the poor Indian” and “his untutored mind.” The researches of the scientists of the New World especially have thrown a flood of light upon his material and his intellectual achievements. The labors of Catholic and Protestant missionaries, the investigations of a Brinton, a Powell, a Trumbull, a Dorsey, a Fewkes, a Gatschet, a Mallery, a Boas, a Holmes, a Fletcher, a Mooney, a Thomas, a McGee, a Cushing, a Matthews, a Tooker, to mention but a few names out of an illustrious list, have told something of what the Red Man has accomplished in the matter of language, art, religion and the institutions of human society. In brief, some of us have learned to respect him, instead of patronizing him. Well



spoke the first Americanist of our time on the four hundredth anniversary of the discovery of this continent:

"The native American was a *man*, a man as we are men, with the same faculties, and aspirations, with like aims and ambitions, working, as our ancestors worked, endeavoring to carry out similar plans with very similar means, fighting the same foes, seeking the same allies, and consequently arriving at the same, or similar results!"<sup>1</sup>

Another student of primitive man closes an interesting discourse with these suggestive words:

"The question, however, that really concerns the ethnologist of today, is not *who* are the American Indians, but *what* are they, and what have they accomplished in working out the problems of life, which, ever since his birth, man has grappled with."<sup>2</sup>

It is in the spirit of these wise utterances that I would seek to tell, in brief terms, the world's debt to the Red Man, what we owe to the race from whom we have snatched a continent. And the debt is, indeed, great. First our language owes him much. Though our unskilled tongues have all-too-often sorely marred them, the whole land is still dotted over with the names he gave. Republic, state, province, county, township, city, town, hamlet, mountain, valley, island, cape, gulf, bay, lake, river, and streamlet are his eternal remembrancers: Mexico, Alabama, Ontario, Multnomah, Muskoka, Lima, Parahiba, Kiowa, Managua, Kootenay, Yosemite, Chonos, Campeche, Panama, hail from as many distinct linguistic stocks as there are individual names in the list. This legacy was sung by Walt Whitman:

"The red aborigines!

Leaving natural breaths, sounds of rain and wind, calls of birds and animals in the woods, syllabled to us for names,

<sup>1</sup> D. G. Brinton: Address on Columbus Day (Phila., 1892), p. 15.

<sup>2</sup> H. W. Henshaw in Amer. Anthropol., Vol. 11., p. 213.

Okonee, Koosa, Ottawa, Monongahela, Sauk, Natchez, Chattahoochee, Kaqueta, Oronoco, Wabash, Miami, Saginaw, Chippewa, Oshkosh, Walla-Walla,

Leaving such to the States, they melt, they depart, charging the water and the land with names."

America, itself, in spite of the persistent arguments of Marcou and others, is not an aboriginal name. But of the states and territories of the Union, Alabama, Alaska, Arkansas, Arizona, Connecticut, the Dakotas, Idaho, Illinois, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Massachusetts, (New) Mexico, Michigan, Minnesota, Mississippi, Missouri, Nebraska, Oklahoma, Tennessee, Texas, Utah, Wisconsin, Wyoming, derive their appellations from the Indian languages of the country. North of us Canada, and nine of her provinces and territories, Assiniboia, Athabasca, Keewatin, Manitoba, Ontario, Quebec, Saskatchewan, Ungava, Yukon, have been named from like sources. To the south the aborigines are remembered in Mexico, Nicaragua, Guatemala, Peru, Chili, Guiana, Uruguay, Paraguay, and in innumerable lesser divisions of these and the other Spanish-American republics and in Portuguese Brazil. And how well, after all, these lands have been named! And so many of our rivers, lakes, mountains and cities too! How thankful we really ought to be that surveyor-general De Witt had not the chance to do on a grand scale all over the United States, what he did in New York—baptize so many places with the names of ancient European cities, and when his atlas gave out have recourse to the names of Greek and Roman poets, philosophers and statesmen, until Lemprière's dictionary was exhausted. And that the practice of naming counties after members of the legislature, and townships after pet dogs has not been let run all over the land. Some of the terms the Indian has left us, are, doubtless, "jaw-breakers," but most of them are not, and adorn our maps as well as do those inherited from our Aryan forefathers. And where some

of the older Indian names of more general application have passed out of use, they have reappeared, sometimes in abbreviated or more euphonious forms, in the appellations of ships of peace and of war, sea-side hotels and country cottages, public parks and private estates, golf clubs, organizations of a political and social nature, etc. But not even the most imaginative of the American Indians could have guessed to what uses some of their place-names would be put by the whites. In far-off Germany, they have been employed, with the titles of doctors' theses in chemistry and other linguistic monstrosities, to test the speech-capacity and memory of school children and help them overcome impediments of speech. Mexican mountain names have been used for this purpose, and, also, as we learn from Immermann's "*Münchhausen*," the sesquipedalian name of a plain in western South America: Apapurinkasiquinichiquasaqua.

No insignificant inheritance, then, have we received from the aborigines of this continent in the geographical names that lie upon it thick as the leaves in Vallambrosa.

With the poet De Mille we may ask,

"The memory of the Red Man,  
How can it pass away,  
While his names of music linger  
On each mount, and stream and bay?"

But it is not place-names alone that have come to us from the Indians' store of speech. The languages of all sections of the peoples of European stock dwelling in the New World preserve scores and hundreds of words derived from one or another of the many tongues spoken by the aborigines. This debt to the Indian is, of course, greatest in Mexico, Central and South America, where the natives still exist in very large numbers, and where they have intermixed considerably with the white population, giving rise to millions of *mestizos* and mixed-bloods of various degrees.

To the English spoken and written in the United States and Canada one stock alone, the Algonkian, has furnished at least (according to the investigations of the present writer) one hundred and ninety words meriting record in our dictionaries; and a rough count of the words contributed to American English by all the Indian languages north of the Mexican boundary line makes the number about three hundred. The words adopted from the Indian tongues of Mexico, Central and South America would add some two hundred more. Thus, a fair estimate of the total contributions of the American Indian to English speech in America, spoken and written, literary, provincial and colloquial, would be, say five hundred words, which is under rather than above the mark. Some sixty selected from this long list will show the character of this aboriginal element in our modern English:

Alpaca, axolotl, barbecue, bayou, buccaneer, cannibal, canoe, caucus, Chautauqua, chipmunk, chocolate, condor, coyote, curari, guano, hammock, hickory, hominy, hurricane, ipecacuanha, jaguar, jalap, jerked (beef), Klondike, llama, mahogany, maize, manito, moccasin, moose, mugwump, ocelot, opossum, pampas, papoose, peccary, pemmican, persimmon, petunia, potato, powow, puma, quinine, raccoon, Saratoga, sequoia, skunk, squaw, Tammany, tapir, tarpon, terrapin, tobacco, toboggan, tomahawk, tomato, totem, tuxedo, vicuña, wahoo, wampum, wigwam, woodchuck, Wyandotte.

What a wide field of thought and experience is represented by these aboriginal words adopted into English! If the Indian had done no more than to give us the terms by which we denote *caucus*, *Tammany*, *mugwump*, *Chautauqua*,—four great ideas developed by the Europeans in America,—he would have exceeded some of the civilized languages of the Old World in really influencing the future universal speech. Moreover, words like *barbecue*, *buccaneer*,

*cannibal, hurricane, Klondike, powow, totem*, etc., seem to fill "long-felt wants" in our language.

Great, however, as is the debt of English, *e. g.*, to Algonkian (and Canadian-French has taken up some fifty words from the same source), the debt of Mexican-Spanish to Nahuatl and the other aboriginal languages of the republic, of Central American Spanish to the Mayan dialects, of the Spanish of western South America to the Quechua-Aymaran stocks, of Chilean and Argentinian Spanish to the Indian tongues of their environment and of Brazilian Portuguese to the Tupi-Guarani and other linguistic stocks, is much greater. In these regions, the natural phenomena of the new environment, the strange animals, birds, insects, plants and the varied uses to which they are put, have caused the European settlers and their descendants to take into their vocabulary thousands of words belonging to the languages of the American Indians. That this is no exaggeration is clear from the fact that the trees, fruits and plants alone used for manufacturing, artistic, æsthetic, medicinal and food purposes, which have their names already recorded in our encyclopedias and dictionaries of the arts and sciences, number more than a thousand.

And, when we contemplate the monstrosities in the way of nomenclature perpetrated by the classicizing biologists, we could wish that the project of Girard had succeeded, and every American plant and creature been baptized with an Indian name.

Some of the words of Indian origin have travelled far and wide. Let us glance at the history of just one. In 1558, Thevet, the geographer, wrote of "an herb which the Brazilians [Indians] call *petun*." Many years later, when Lacurne de Sainte-Palaye compiled his great French glossary, *petun* was a common word for "tobacco," more in use, seemingly, than *tabac*, which has superseded it in modern French. In the works of the early chroniclers of Canada *petun* is the usual word for "tobacco." In the

language of the early French settlers *petun* had many derivatives: *pétuner*, "to smoke a pipe"; *pétuneur* (*pétuneux*), "smoker"; *pétunoir*, "pipe"; etc., all of which words are to be found in the writings of Champlain,—some of them survive still in French-Canadian patois. But *petun* travelled farther than from Brazil to Old and New France. The glossary to the Low German poems (published in 1859) of Johann Meyer of Ditmarsch, informs us that in that region of northwestern Germany, a favorite brand of tobacco is called, in the mouth of the people, *Peter Obbe Mumm*, corrupted from *petum optimum*, trade-Latin for "the best tobacco." But if *petun* has suffered thus on the lips of the folk, the scientist has made amends in another direction. As early as 1602, Nicolas Monardes states, the tobacco-plant "was first carried to Spain as much for its beauty and ornament in gardens as for its virtues." And today we designate by the name *petunia* a plant allied to tobacco, which has become a common garden-flower.

The American Indian contribution to the language of the white man has not been confined entirely to single words. Our colloquial, and even our literary speech have been enriched by phrases and expressions which are but translations and imitations, more or less imperfect often, it is true, since the originals were not always completely understood, of aboriginal turns and tricks of thought. Thus we have: Brave, "sun," "moon," fire-water, squaw man, pale-face, "medicine-man," Great Spirit, happy hunting-grounds, to bury the hatchet, to smoke the pipe of peace, etc.

As soon, too, as they had called the Red Man "Indian," the white settlers began to see many things, which they rightly named after him because they were his or were associated with him; they also applied the term "Indian" to numerous other things which were only new or strange to them and had no real relationship to the aborigines.

The list of things "Indian" numbers more than one hundred in English, exclusive of the topographical use of the word (Indian Territory, Indiana, Indianapolis, etc.). The French "sauvage," Spanish "Indio," etc., have also their categories (in older Canadian-French, *e. g.*, the toboggan is "traîne sauvage," the moccasin, "botte sauvage," Labrador tea, "thé sauvage," expressions which have not yet entirely disappeared from use). From the list of "things Indian" may be selected for special mention: Indian gift, Indian ladder, Indian corn, Indian meal, Indian file, Indian summer. Nor have the squaw and the papoose been forgotten, as any dictionary of Americanisms will show. "Indian summer" has now been accepted, not alone by our poets, but by those of Old England as well; and, as our colleague, Mr. Matthews, has said, a new and graceful figure has been added to the store of English speech.

In the second place, the literatures of the civilized world owe the Indian much in the way of topic and inspiration. Foremost, we have Shakespeare's Caliban (the name is a mere change of *canibal*, our *cannibal*), whose "dam's god, Setebos," hails from Patagonia. Caliban, "that freckled whelp (hag-borne) not honored with a human shape," is but the crystallization by the genius of the great poet and dramatist of the strange and motley stories and legends that came to his ears concerning "the new-found isle" in the far west.

Shakespeare, too, drew upon the tales of Raleigh, when he made the Moor of Venice say that, among the stories the fair Desdemona seriously inclined to hear were those

"Of the *Canibals* that each other eat,  
The *Anthropophagi*, and men whose heads  
Grew beneath their shoulders."

The "mythology of the discovery," as we might term it, is conspicuous in the literary annals of this period, nor did it really become extinct till the beginning of the

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last century. Space nor time will permit the enumeration of all the literary compositions for which, wholly or in part, the American Indian has been the theme. There can be mentioned only: Davenant's "Cruelty of the Spaniards in Peru"; Dryden's "Indian Queen" and "Indian Emperor"; Sacchini's "Montezuma"; Kotzebue's "Indians in England," "Spaniards in Peru" and "Rolla"; Coleman's "Inkle and Yarico" (dramatized from Steele's tale in the *Spectator*, No. 11); Sheridan's "Pizarro" (from Kotzebue); Southey's "Madoc"; Campbell's "Gertrude of Wyoming"; Whittier's "Mogg Megone"; Rogers's "Pocahontas"; Mair's "Tecumseh"; Duvar's "De Roberval," etc.

Of briefer and minor poems may be cited: Moore's "Lake of the Dismal Swamp"; Mrs. Hemans's "Messenger Bird," "Stranger in Louisiana," and "Isle of Founts"; Longfellow's "Burial of the Minnesink"; Bryant's "Prairies"; Whittier's "Fountain"; Joaquin Miller's "Californian" and "Last Taschastas"; Lowell's "Chippewa Legend"; Hathaway's "League of the Iroquois"; Fréchet's "La dernière Iroquoise"; Schiller's "Nadowessier's Totenlied," etc.

There yet remain to be referred to the greatest poems hitherto inspired by any American theme, Alonzo de Ercilla's epic "La Araucana" and Longfellow's tuneful "Hiawatha." Of "La Araucana" (begun in 1558), which treats of the brave resistance of the Araucanian Indians of Chili to the Spaniards, no less an authority than Voltaire has said that the speech of the wise old cacique, Colocolo, is superior to that of Nestor in the first book of the *Iliad*. And Cervantes, in his "Don Quixote," gives the poem even higher praise. It is refreshing to find a sixteenth century soldier, like De Ercilla, turning poet, to set right in the eyes of the world the people against whom he had fought.

Longfellow's "Hiawatha," is thus far *the* epic of the Red Man in English. In it the poet, through uncertain knowledge, has mingled the myths of Manabozho, the





hero-god of the Algonkian tribes of the Great Lakes, and the deeds of Hiawatha, a celebrated statesman and reformer among the Iroquois—which is equivalent to a Chinese poet confusing the legendary Jove with the real King Alfred in an Oriental composition.

When we turn to fiction and romance we find, again, that the American Indian has well served the white race. Defoe, Cooper, Chateaubriand, Marmontel, Mayne Reid, De Alencar, Kingsley, Gerstäcker, Lew Wallace, Bandelier, Rider Haggard, Robertson and many others have found inspiration in his history and achievements. In spite of inaccuracy of detail and too frequent and too extensive Anglification and Gallicization, the aboriginal characters of some of these writers stand firmly rooted in our literary memories. We cannot easily forget "Friday," "the last of the Mohicans," "the white God." And our youth have even more difficulty in not remembering the "Indian" of the dime novel and the "penny dreadful." Too often Chingachcook has been eclipsed by the nondescript hero of one of these miserable pamphlets. But the American Indian's literary monument will be found in such noble compositions as "La Araucana" and "Hiawatha," which have no mean followers in such poems as Miss Proctor's "Song of the Ancient People," wherein is related the story of the Pueblos Indians of New Mexico and Arizona.

That the Red Man has appealed to the chronicler and the historian, the literature of the chief European countries in the period immediately following the discovery amply proves. In our own land and age the interest is increasing and is now more judicious. Figures like Pocahontas, King Philip, Montezuma, Huayna Capac, Pontiac, Tecumseh, Black Hawk, Nez Percé Joseph, are bound to stir the genius of our race. Parkman's "Conspiracy of Pontiac" is an indication of what the future may bring forth. Mexico and Peru are waiting even now for a Fiske or a Parkman to do what a Prescott could not. Other peoples, too,

look for the historian who is to chronicle the development of the culture they have created, the gifts they have bestowed upon their fellow men. Here may well be found the *magnum opus* of the American historian.

Let us now turn from language and literature to more material things.

How readily many of the natives of the New World consented to become guides and porters for the first European travellers and adventurers has been recorded by several of the chroniclers of early colonial days. Roger Williams was particularly cordial in this regard:

"The wilderness, being so vast, it is a mercy that for hire a Man shall never want guides, who will carry provisions and such as hire them over Rivers and Brookes, and find out oftentimes hunting houses or other lodgings at night. I have heard of many English lost and have often been lost myselfe, and myselfe and others have been often found and succoured by the Indians."

Exploration of the New World was all the easier because almost everywhere, missionary, soldier, adventurer, trader, trapper and hunter followed Indian guides over the old trails.

*Vita trita via tuta*, as the Latin maxim has it, "the beaten path is safe." All history shows that one of the fundamentally important contributions of a primitive people to the civilization of those who dispossess them is the trails and camping-places, water-ways and trade-routes they have known and used from time immemorial. Imperishable is the influence of these ancient factors in human social evolution. Professor Turner does not exaggerate when he says:—

"The buffalo-trail became the Indian trail, and this became the trader's 'trace'; the trails widened into roads, and the roads into turnpikes, and these, in turn, were transformed into railroads. The same origin can be shown

for the railroads of the South, the far West and the Dominion of Canada. The trading-posts reached by these trails were on the sites of Indian villages which had been placed in positions suggested by nature; and these trading-posts, situated so as to command the water-systems of the country, have grown into such cities as Albany, Pittsburgh, Detroit, Chicago, St. Louis, Council Bluffs, and Kansas City.”<sup>1</sup>

The very latest railroad to be born, the Crow’s Nest Railroad in the Canadian Northwest, climbs the Rockies by an Indian trail, and the towns springing up beside it but occupy the abandoned camping-places of the “disappearing” Red Men. The state of affairs, once common in the West, is still to be seen in full flourish in many parts of Central and South America, where Indian pathways alone are known and Indians still the only guides and pack-bearers. Nay more, in Peru and the adjacent lands the unfordable streams and mountain-torrents are still crossed at the same places and by the same means (*e. g.* the famous suspension bridges of the Vilcamayo, the Apurimac, etc.) as were in use in the days of the old Incas. And in the interminable river-ways of the immense basins of the Amazon, etc., the only pathway yet safe is the “canoe-path” of the Indian, himself being guide. In parts of North America, also, particularly in New Brunswick and the country north of the Great Lakes, the canoer has been largely the pathfinder.

The Cayuga chief, who, in 1847, appealed to the white man for generous treatment, in these words, might have spoken for his race throughout America:

“The Empire State, as you love to call it, was once laced by our trails from Albany to Buffalo; trails that we had trodden for centuries; trails worn so deep by the feet of the Iroquois, that they became your roads of travel, as your possessions gradually ate into those of my people.

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<sup>1</sup> See Proc. Wisc. State Hist. Soc., 1889 and 1894. Also, Annual Rept. Amer. Hist. Assoc., 1893.

Your roads still traverse the same lines of commerce which bound one part of the Long House to the other. Have we, the first holders of this prosperous region, no longer a share in your history?"<sup>1</sup>

Yes! spokesman of the Iroquois, not until the patter of our children's feet upon the pavements of our great cities and upon the highways of the vast country environing them shall have ceased forever, will remembrance of those other feet that first beat them into paths of safety for our fathers perish amongst us. Next to the home-makers are the pathfinders in human annals. We can never forget our "forerunners."

The fact that for so long in American history there was a "frontier" ever receding westward as the tide of immigration advanced, has, as Professor Turner has pointed out, conditioned to a certain extent the development of culture in North America. Had there been no aborigines here the white race would have swarmed over America and civilization would have been much different from what it is now, and the "typical American" would also have been other than he is. The fact that the Indian was here in sufficient numbers to resist a too-rapid advance on the part of the European settlers made necessary the successive Americas, which began with Massachusetts and Virginia and ended with California, Oregon and Alaska. The American is really a composite of the Puritan and the pioneer, with a little of all the races that were here or have since come.

The fur trade and traffic with the Indians generally had no little effect upon the social and political condition of the European colonists, who in these matters learned their first lessons in diplomacy and statecraft. Alliances made often for commercial reasons led to important national events. The adhesion of the Algonkian tribes so

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<sup>1</sup> Yawger, "Indian and Pioneer," p. 92.

largely to the French, and of the Iroquois as extensively to the English practically settled which was ultimately to win in the struggle for supremacy in America. Morgan did not hesitate to say that "the Iroquois alliance with the English forms the chief fact in American history down to 1763." The fortunes gained in trade made their influence felt across the Atlantic in the political events of France and England, just as the gold wrung from the "Indies" was potent in the affairs of Spain. Carlyle sums up, in exaggerated fashion, the influence exerted thus indirectly by the Red Man when he says:

"There is not a Red Indian hunting by Lake Winnipeg can quarrel with his squaw but the whole world must smart for it; and will not the price of beaver rise?"

Mr. Weeden, our colleague, has shown how the necessities of commerce made the colonists of the middle and eastern states adopt wampum, the shell-money of the Indians, as a sort of legal tender, which has had its significant rôle in the development of Yankee civilization.

The needs of commercial and social intercourse have also given rise to jargons and trade-languages, such as the Chinook of the Columbia river region, the Lingoa geral of Brazil, and others not so well-known, but all testifying to the fact that in such cases the language of the civilized and that of the uncivilized must both figure in the linguistic compromise used as the means of intercommunication.

From the Indians the early settlers all over America, very naturally, borrowed many ideas and devices relating to hunting and fishing. Hence the fish-weirs of Virginia in the sixteenth and Brazil in the twentieth century; the use of narcotic poisons for killing fish; the employment of the blow-gun for obtaining animals and birds without injuring the skins; catching fish, especially eels and salmon, by torch-light; the "call" for deceiving

the moose; methods of trailing and capturing the larger game and wild animals, etc. Also ways of rendering palatable or innocuous many of the plants and vegetables of the tropics in particular.

From the primitive agricultural processes of the American Indians not a little was transferred to the whites, particularly in the way of preparing the ground and cultivating the native plants and vegetables,—the New Englanders, *e. g.*, learned from the aborigines how to treat corn in all its stages. The use of guano in Peru and of fish-manure (menhaden) in northeastern North America, like the burning over of the fields as a preparation for planting, was adopted by the whites from the Indians. From the same source they came to plant corn in hills and pumpkins or beans and corn together. Governor Bradford, in 1621, tells how Squanto, the Indian, came to the relief of the colonists at Plymouth, “showing them both the manner how to set it and after how to dress and tend it. Also he told them, except they got fish and set with it (in these old grounds) it would come to nothing.” And Morton, in 1632, informs us how extensively the white inhabitants of Virginia were in the habit of “doing their grounds with fish.”

In the realms of ornament and æsthetics the Indian has also made his influence felt. The wives and daughters of the early European settlers learned from the squaw many a pretty and many a durable fashion of staining and dyeing their willow and their wooden-ware with juices and extracts of plants, herbs and fruits. At the time of the discovery the natives of northern South America were in the habit of staining their bodies red with a dye obtained from the seed-pulp of the *Bixa orellana*, and the Mexicans used it in art. One of its native names is *urucu* (whence French *roucou*), another *anotto* (English *arnotto*), and the dye is now used by Europeans and Americans for staining cheese and butter. It is safe to say

that South America has supplied scores of such useful dyes, most of which the white man would never have known but for the intermediary of the Indian. So too, with the numerous gums and resins used in cabinet-making and other arts of a higher order,—copal, jalap, guaiacum, copaiba, etc., some of which are better known as “balsams,” are employed in a great variety of ways. The ornamental timbers, dye-woods and the like, which the world owes to the previous knowledge or experimentation of the Indian, are also very numerous, particularly those native to northern South America. Mahogany and logwood are still of importance in the industrial world. And cochineal, the production of which from the cactus-insect was known to the Indians of Mexico in pre-Columbian days, is the most noteworthy red dye we have for animal fibres and for coloring certain foods.

The American Indian has appealed to the artist, both individually and by reason of the “situations” of his historical experience. Parkman, in his “Oregon Trail,” has this passage: “There was one, in particular, a ferocious fellow, named Mad Wolf, who, with the bow in his hand and the quiver at his back, might have seemed, but for his face, the Pythian Apollo himself. Such a figure rose before the imagination of West [the American artist] when, on first seeing the Belvedere in the Vatican, he exclaimed, ‘By G—d, a Mohawk!’” Long is the list of painters, engravers and sculptors who have taken their subjects from the world of aboriginal thought and action, from him, who in 1576 depicted the lineaments of an Eskimo brought over to England by Frobisher, to De Bry and the later Catlin, whose gallery of Indian paintings now belongs to the nation. And in our own day artists are turning more and more to Indian subjects, not only because of the demand that comes to them for statues and other memorials of Indian worthies, but also by reason of the attraction of the theme itself. Many

of our towns and cities possess artistic remembrancers of the great and good Red Men, whom history accords some share in the course of historical events, or of those whose valor and ability made their impression upon the minds and hearts of their foes.

Besides llama wool and alpaca (from Peru) several varieties of cotton (the chief is "Barbados cotton" of which the famous "Sea Island cotton" is the best known type) were known to the aborigines of the warmer parts of America and cultivated by them in pre-Columbian times. Also several kinds of hemps and fibres. Those of the maguey (*Agave americana*) and the *Agave mexicana*, now used to make many things, from rope to imitation haircloth; sisal hemp from Central America; the piassava of the Amazon; and the fibre of the pineapple, the *istle* of the ancient Mexican, which, under the name of *pita*, has become famous through its extensive production in the Philippine Islands. And in the early days ropes and strings made from "Indian hemp" (*Apocynum cannabinum*) and the bark of the "leatherwood" (*Dirca palustris*) were largely used in northeastern North America, which the saying that the Canadian Northwest was "made by Scotchmen and shaganappi," recognizes the debt of its first settlers to the buffalo-skin thongs of the Crees and the Ojibwas. But, in the matter of mending old things and forming new ones the white man owes most to the Indian for his gift of caoutchouc or "India-rubber," whose Brazilian and Portuguese name, *seringa*, translates an early use of the sap of the *Siphonia elastica* by the natives of the Amazonian lowlands. This medical use of "India-rubber" has passed over also to the white population of Brazil, and must be enumerated in the long list of articles and devices all over the world, which have resulted from the pre-Columbian utilization of the sap of this and related trees.

Of Indian inventions and devices for increasing the



comfort of man the whites have adopted many,—some temporarily, others permanently. The infant of the Hudson's Bay factor in the far north, sleeps safe in the warm moss-bag of the Athapascans, and at the seashore the offspring of the New Englander toddles about in moccasins borrowed from the Iroquois or the Algonkin. The whaler and the Arctic adventurer adapted for their own uses the snow goggles and the dog-sled of the Eskimo. The French ladies in early Louisiana took up the turkey-feather fans of the aborigines and the prospector on the Yukon trail uses the *parflèche* of the plains Indians to transport his few small belongings. In the southwest the white man has not despised the various "soap plants," which the Indians knew before him, while in the northeast he learned from them the uses of the fragrant bay-berry wax. In North America basketry, and in South America pottery, made by Indian hands, have served the newcomers long and well, and the "craze" at the present moment for imitating aboriginal art is a just tribute to the race, whose women in California have perfected the art of basketry beyond anything the Old World ever knew. Panama-hats, Navajo blankets, Micmac grass and root-work, and Ojibwa birch-bark all have their vogue among us and in the nerve-tension of our strenuous American life we hark back more than we really know to the art and the industry of the savage and the barbarian. The material strain of the modern American finds release in recourse to some of the calmer activities of his red predecessor or contemporary,—the American aborigine.

The third day after landing in the New World Columbus saw on the Bahamas the hamacas, or net-swings, which as hammocks are now in use all over the civilized world. This may be counted the first gift of the aborigines to the strange race that came to them from over-sea. With prophetic foresight the Red Man must have perceived

how willing some day the strenuous white man would be to rest.

Recreations, also, the Indian has furnished the white man. The canoe and the toboggan enter largely into American pleasures and sports,—and to the aboriginal ideas have been added the “water-toboggan” and light canoes for women. In Canada and parts of northeastern North America, the healthful game of lacrosse, known of old to the Indians, ranks among our best sports, and among the creoles of Louisiana still survives raquette, the southern variety of the same invention. The invigorating exercise of snowshoeing comes also from the Indian.

But it is on the food supply of the world that the American Indian has exerted the greatest influence. In his address before the German Geographical Congress at Stuttgart, in 1893, Dr. Rein said:

“The influence of the New World upon the material conditions of life in the Old World has been very varied. For most inhabitants of Europe, and even for the Maoris in far off New Zealand, potatoes have become an everyday food; Indian corn is even more widespread, and tobacco has conquered the whole world.”

Coming not all of them directly through the Indian, but in most cases, largely through his mediation, “Cacao, vanilla, logwood, mahogany, and other useful or decorative timbers, as well as the many ornamental plants of our houses and gardens, have introduced considerable changes in our manners of life.”

Tobacco,—noxious weed, or soothing panacea,—

“Sublime tobacco! which, from East to West,  
Cheers the tar’s labor, or the Turkman’s rest,”

as Byron called it; tobacco, for whose sake Charles Lamb said he “would do anything but die”; tobacco, solace of old England’s fox-hunting clerics; tobacco, safe refuge of American tariff-tinkers; tobacco, with all it brings of

good and of evil, we owe to the Arawaks of the Caribbean. In tobacco the Red Man has long ago circumnavigated and encompassed the globe. The pipe has conquered the high and the low of almost every nation under the sun. With the cigar and the cigarette it has called forth the smoking-car, the smoking-concert, the smoke-talk, while cigar-boxes have contributed to the formation of window gardens, and cigarette-pictures to debase the moral and æsthetic ideals of the youth of the land. Tobacco has been alternately attacked and defended by monarchs, clergymen, laymen, physicians of the soul and of the body individual and politic, poets and men of science, etc. The literature of tobacco, from King James's renowned "Counterblaste" down to the enactments of western legislatures and Congressional reports on protected industries, would certainly form an imposing library. When we consider all these things, and take into account, also, the labor employed, the money invested, the invention stimulated, the trade and commerce encouraged by the growth and development of the tobacco-industry, in its many ramifications, it is clear that the naked redskin who first handed his *cohoba* to the wondering Spaniard and taught him the use of the "weed," though his name be now utterly forgotten, was destined to make a great change in the world's ways and usages, its industries, its pleasures, and, perhaps, also its health. To the pioneer, the hunter and the trapper, the Indian furnished also *kinnikinnik*.

Concerning another gift we have received from the Red Man there has not been such divergence of opinion. The potato has been little sung by inspired bards or glorified by bishops of a great church,—its humbler task has been to furnish food to the world's hungry millions, and its duty in that respect has been well done. Disastrous, indeed, would be the result were the potato for but a single year to disappear from the food supply of man. Ireland, without her potatoes (we call them "Irish," but they

are just as American as the "sweet potatoes," from which we seek to distinguish them by that appellation) would scarcely need Home Rule; and some regions of our own country would be nearly as badly off. It is almost impossible to calculate the benefits which have accrued to the race from the experiment of the Indian who first cultivated the wild plant from which have sprung the innumerable varieties of the potato now in the market. Whatever evil the natives of the New World unconsciously disseminated with tobacco they have atoned for richly with the potato, although Aryan ingenuity has succeeded in using the latter for the production of several varieties of whiskey. From the American Indian seems to have come also the sweet potato, which, in some of the European languages has preserved its aboriginal name, *bataatas*. Its use as an article of food is rapidly spreading in America and Europe, and it is now extensively cultivated in all four continents and on the islands of the Pacific.

Another food-plant that has travelled far from its original home in America is manioc, from which is obtained the tapioca of commerce (other than the variety of sago which goes also by that name). Manioc or cassava, in pre-Columbian days, was exploited, as a cultivated plant, by the aborigines of Brazil, Guiana, Mexico, etc. This American plant has been so cultivated in parts of Africa, that, in some of the semi-explored regions of the central interior, it is a main staple of agriculture and commerce.

That very useful vegetable, the tomato, was cultivated in Mexico (its name is Aztec) and Peru prior to the European discovery. Since then it has extended even to the Malay Archipelago and the gardens of China and Japan. The opinion that it is poisonous has now died out, and the tomato bids fair to become as popular in the kitchens of the Old World as it is in those of the New. And with it go catchup and "sweet pickles."

The New England dinner of today is incomplete, for a

large part of the year, without squash in some form or other; and time was when pumpkin-pie was almost a sacred dish,—there were also pumpkin sauce, pumpkin bread, etc. In 1671 Josselyn could already call pumpkin sauce “an ancient New England standing-dish.” Ultimately we must credit the long series of squash and pumpkin dishes to the Indian, for certain varieties of these vegetables were cultivated by them in North America prior to the advent of white men. Hakluyt, in 1609, says of the natives of the town of Apalache in Florida that the European adventurers found there “great store of maiz, French beans, and pompions, which is their food, and that wherewith the Christians sustained themselves.”

Some of our “Boston baked beans,” too, had their start from the Red Man, for the common haricot kidney bean, according to De Candolle, was cultivated in America in pre-Columbian times. The Lima bean, as its name indicates, is also American,—and antedates the coming of the whites. The use of these two kinds of beans (and they are employed in a variety of ways) was made possible by pre-Columbian horticulture. And baked beans on Saturday night is almost a religious observance with some New Englanders even in the twentieth century.

De Candolle also assigns to the New World the origin of the peanut, now more commonly associated with the negro than with the American Indian. The peanut has become quite a social necessity, and the indirect influence upon Italy of its sale and distribution is not inconsiderable, since so many of her sons have been its preparers and its vendors,—of late years, however, the Armenians seem to have taken up these *rôles* more or less, increasing thereby the ethnic sphere of this interesting “nut.” The luscious pineapple, the pawpaw, the persimmon, the agave, the chirimoya, the guava, the sapodilla, the soursop, the star-apple, the mamee, the marmalade plum, the custard-apple, the chayote, the cashew, the alligator-pear, etc.,

are all natives of the New World, and have had their virtues ascertained by the Indians before the discovery, or pointed out by them to the European since.

The artichoke, oca, quinoa, the cacao-bean, arracacha, arrow-root, and red peppers (whence paprika, tabasco sauce and the like), etc., are other gifts of the American aborigines to those who conquered them.

Besides all these mentioned, in Mexico, Central and South America there are hundreds of fruits and plant-foods, in more or less local use, which have not extended their influence much if any beyond the limits of the continent,—all having been made known to the whites by the Indians directly or indirectly. The “folk-foods” of Spanish America are largely of aboriginal origin. North America, however, has its succotash, pone, hominy, sagamity, suppawn, etc., name and thing alike adopted from the Indians. Nor must we forget the pemmican of the Canadian Northwest (“pemmican” is now made to order for Arctic expeditions in Europe and America) and the “jerked beef,” representing the *charqui* of the Peruvian neighbors of the great plains of the Chaco. Indian ways of cooking clams (“Indian bed,” *e. g.*), of preparing fish for eating (“planked shad,” etc.), and, in the more southern regions, of boiling, roasting and otherwise cooking and making palatable fruits, roots and herbs, small animals, etc., deserve mention. In many parts of Spanish-America the methods of cooking are much after the aboriginal fashion.

The American Indian origin of maple-sugar and maple-syrup has been demonstrated by Professor H. W. Henshaw and the writer of this paper. In the Eastern States and the Canadian provinces of Ontario and Quebec, especially, the production of these articles of food is one of the important industries of the country. Vermont, indeed, has come to be known as “the maple-sugar State.” In early New England (as still in Quebec) the *modi operandi* of

the production of maple-sugar and maple-syrup smacked altogether of the Indian.

Famous all over the world is the American habit of chewing gum, which, by reason of the medicinal and hygienic properties attributed to this substance, became soon the fashion among adults as well as among children and youth. Like all fads, the chewing of gum has moderated of recent years, but is still a very prevalent custom and its production a very profitable industry. The basis of the best gum is chicle, obtained from the chiclezapote tree (of the India-rubber family), a native of Mexico. Though Yankee ingenuity is chiefly responsible for the vogue of chewing-gum, it is interesting to learn that chicle was used by the ancient Mexicans in a somewhat similar manner, and that, in the last analysis, the American Indian employment of chicle is the source of our chewing-gum, which is now to be obtained from the familiar automatic machines so abundant on our streets and in many of our parks and pleasure resorts.

Mr. O. F. Cook, of the Department of Agriculture in Washington, has recently sought to show that the cocoa-palm, which has so wonderfully served man in the matter of food, drink, clothing, ornament, art, etc., is a native of America, and was carried to Polynesia (afterwards to Asia, etc.) by human agency in prehistoric times. This may or may not be the case, but there is no doubt of the American Indian origin of "Indian corn," or maize, a plant as useful to civilized as the cocoa is to savage man. The wild rice of the Great Lakes is another food-plant, which the Indian knew before the advent of the whites, and of which the latter have made more or less use, especially the early explorers, traders, trappers, voyageurs, etc., though in 1896 it was offered for sale in a number of towns in Wisconsin and Minnesota, and Professor Jenks, who has written a monograph on the Indian use of wild rice, advocates its cultivation by the whites on a large

scale as a valuable addition to the food-supply of the country. The impression made by this plant upon the Indians of the region where it chiefly flourishes, as also upon their white successors, has been so great that Mr. Jenks does not hesitate to declare that "more geographic names have been derived from wild rice in this relatively small section of North America than from any other natural vegetable product throughout the entire continent."<sup>1</sup> It has fed the mind as well as the body.

The primitive home of maize was probably in some portion of the Mexico-Isthmian region, whence it has spread wherever man will use or the climate tolerate. Says Mrs. Earle of Old New England:—

"Next to fish, the early colonists found in Indian corn, or Guinny wheat,—Turkie wheat one traveller called it,—their most unfailing food supply. Our first poet wrote in 1675, of what he called early days:

The dainty Indian maize  
Was eat in clamp-shells out of wooden trays.

"Its abundance and adaptability did much to change the nature of their diet, as well as to save them from starvation. The colonists learned from the Indians how to plant, nourish, harvest, grind and cook it in many forms and in each way it formed a palatable food."<sup>2</sup>

Take from the New England table during the time that has elapsed since the Indians welcomed the first settlers not merely by word of mouth, but also with agreeable food, its memories of "rye and Indian" with "Boston brown bread," yocake, johnny-cake, pone, suppawn, "Indian pudding," succotash, hulled corn, hominy, mush, and all the other concoctions of "Indian meal," rude and refined, and what a void there would be! And it startles us to think that the American child owes his popcorn to the Indian, to whom must be traced back ultimately such

<sup>1</sup> Annual Rept. Bureau Amer. Ethnol., 1897-8.

<sup>2</sup> "Customs and Fashions in Old New England," p. 148.



diversified application of the virtues of maize, as is represented by the innumerable uses which the white man has found for the cornstarch extracted from this American plant. Almost every part of the corn plant has been made use of by man for one purpose or another: the boy has his corn-stalk fiddle and his beard of corn-silk; the stalks are employed to make various things, from fuel to baskets; and from them in the green and soft state have been extracted syrup, sugar, brandy, etc.; the husks are used for packing, to stuff mattresses and chairs, to wrap cigarettes, to make paper; out of the fibre of the culm and leaves a sort of yarn has been obtained. One of the arts transferred from the Indians to the early settlers was the making of mats, etc., out of corn-husks, and perhaps the corn-cob pipe has a similar origin. Like tobacco, maize has encompassed the whole earth. Even in Africa its culture, now common over a large portion of the continent, is one of the great modifiers of indigenous civilization. In 1893, Zaborowski could say, "It has penetrated into the heart of Africa; it is found on the Upper Wabangi, on the Arruimi, in Iburi on Lake Stanley, among the Monbuttus and the Niam-niams, and is common in the region of Tanganyika."

Maize is, perhaps, *the* gift of the American Indians to mankind, a gift to be ranked with the greatest benefactions of any of the races of the globe. If it be said: "He deserves well of his country who causes two blades of grass to grow where but one grew before," how shall we word the praise of that primitive American people who first changed a wild grass into the all-bountiful maize? Surely the appeal of Miss Proctor might have been hearkened to, and this peculiarly American plant recognized as the "national flower."

Drinks, too, the Indian has given the white man. Maté, the well-known Paraguayan tea-tree, whose product is used so extensively in southern South America, was made

known to the whites by the aborigines; likewise "Labrador tea," which, in 1767, under the spell of patriotism, threatened to drive out of the market the Chinese product. The Indian tribes of the southeastern portion of the United States utilized to make a "drink" a species of holly, and the tea from its leaves was also in use among the white settlers. In a Bulletin (1892) of the United States Department of Agriculture, Dr. E. M. Hale suggested that this "tea" might turn out to be "an acceptable and useful substitute for the more expensive imported teas." In other regions of the country also the early European settlers were made acquainted with other "teas" of Indian origin. Chocolate (the name, like that of the "bean," cacao, from which it is produced) comes to us from the Red Man, for the cultivation of cacao and the preparation of this useful beverage were known to the natives of Mexico and Central America in pre-Columbian times. From the beans of the cacao-tree are also prepared the long list of nutritious foods and drinks misnamed cocoa, the use of which has spread all over the civilized world.

Some of the intoxicating drinks invented by the American Indians have passed over to the whites to a considerable extent in Spanish and Portuguese America. Pulque, the famous ancient Mexican intoxicant, obtained from the juice of the maguey, or "American aloe," mescal (from the maguey, "the Spanish bayonet," etc.) and the Central and South American chicha, made from the maize plant, belong in this class. Besides chicha South America has cachiri (made from manioc-juice), and a variety of local "drinks" made from wild fruits, herbs and vegetables by the natives, and more or less often partaken of by the mixed white population of the country.

Medicine owes much to the American Indian. In the early history of the European colonies the "Indian doctor" played a not unimportant rôle in stanching the wounds and alleviating the pains and aches of the pioneer. New

England had its Joe Pye (after whom the "Joe Pye weed" was named), its Sabbatus, its Molly Orcutt and others, men and women, who knew the secret uses of herbs and simples, barks and leaves, roots and juices, and who so often cured or taught the pale-face immigrants. From such the latter learned the uses of puccoon, cohosh, pipsissewa, dockmackie, and many more of nature's remedies. Dr. Bard, in 1894, credited the Indians of California with furnishing "three of the most valuable additions which have been made to the pharmacopœia during the last twenty years." Two of these are the "yerba santa" (holy plant), *Erioduction glutinosum*, used for affections of the respiratory tract; and the *cascara sagrada* (sacred bark), *Rhamnus purshiana*, a good laxative. In northeastern North America the lobelia was once the watchword of a local medical school and had an extended vogue as an emetic and cure for asthma. Mexico has furnished jalap, the well-known purgative. The Indians of South America have given the world jaborandi leaves (for dropsy, uræmia, snake-bite), the balsams copaiba, tolu, etc., ipecacuanha, quinine and copalchi, guaiacum (once a famous remedy for syphilis) coca, curari, etc. In this list quinine, coca, and curari deserve more particular mention.

Quinine, in various ways, is now the world's great febrifuge. It is the active principle of the bark of a certain tree, which the Peruvian Indians were in the habit of powdering and using as a remedy for malarial fever. Its American origin is indicated by one of its names, long in use, "Peruvian bark," while another, "Cinchona," recalls the fact that it was the Countess of Cinchona, wife of one of the Spanish governors, whose cure by this means introduced the drug to the marked attention of the European medical world.

The leaves of the coca plant were chewed by the natives of Bolivia and Peru long before the Spanish Conquest, and they were well aware of the physiological action in

diminishing the sense of fatigue during long journeys or when engaged in hard labor. Besides inducing a general sense of comfort, coca-chewing lessened the desire for food, helped the breathing in mountain climbing, etc. These facts became known to the whites, and a new and powerful local anæsthetic, cocaine, was added to the resources of medicine, though at the same time the weak and nervous members of modern society were furnished a new drug for their indulgence.

Curari is the arrow-poison of the Indians of Guiana, parts of Brazil and Venezuela, used by them long before the discovery, to tip the points of the slender arrows of their famous blow-pipes. These aborigines knew both that this substance, when introduced into a wound, had a paralyzing effect upon a living animal, and that the small quantity needed to cause death had practically no effect on the human stomach, if the animal were afterwards used as food. Curari, itself, and its product, curarine, are not very extensively used in medicine; but curari, by reason of certain properties which it possesses, has become an important anæsthetic in the vivisection experiments of the physiological laboratory.

The latest drug which the American Indian has given the world is the "mescal button," the dried top of the *Anhelonium Lewinii*, a plant the old Spanish missionaries called "devil's root," by reason of its association with the religious rites of the Indians of northern Mexico and the adjacent parts of the United States. The psychic influence of this drug was recognized by some of these Indians, who say that, just as maize is the food of the body, mescal is the food of the soul. Mr. James Mooney's investigation of the "mescal cult" among the Kiowa Indians first revealed the full significance of this plant to the aboriginal mind, while its use as a psychic intoxicant among the Huichol Indians of the Mexican Sierra Madre, has more recently been described by Lumholtz. Dr.

Havelock Ellis, who has made an experimental study of mescal, tells us that it closely resembles hashish in its creation of an "artificial Paradise" for its user, while it also enables him to separate, as it were, body and intelligence, giving the individual the opportunity of contemplating himself apart from himself. To those whose ancestors crossed the sea to discover a material New World, the Indian has given a new world of the mind.

Upon the Indian reputation in physisic quacks and impostors have not been slow to seize. There has been a flood of "Indian remedies," good and bad, for coughs, colds, catarrh, consumption, etc.,—indeed for almost all the ills human flesh is heir to. Patent and proprietary medicines also rejoice in titles reminiscent, as their components are said to be, of the Red Man. Newspapers and dead walls are often alive with advertisements of "Snake Indian Cure for Consumption," "Kickapoo Indian Sagwa," and the like.

Never in the history of mankind has it happened that one great race has intruded into the domain of another and supplanted it without taking up into its veins a goodly share of aboriginal blood. This continent offers no exception. Here the Aryan and the Indian have mingled more than we think, much more than is commonly believed. In Mexico, the West Indies, Central and South America, where the conquerors and subsequent settlers have been so largely of South European stocks, the intermixture has come about more easily, more rapidly and to a greater extent than in those regions of North America peopled by colonists of English descent. The total number of the inhabitants of South America is some 40,000,000, or less; and of these, it is said, not more than 10,000,000 are of pure white blood. Of the nearly 14,000,000 people of Mexico at least forty per cent. are half-breeds and other varieties of mixed bloods, and nearly forty per cent. Indians.

In North America the early French colonists found it

advantageous to mingle with the aborigines on fairly equal terms, and soon a race of *métis* or half-breeds sprang up, whose rôle in the development of the great Northwest was one of prime importance. The establishment of the fur companies and the development of commerce with the Indians, increased a tendency already existing to intermarry, with the consequence that today there are Indian villages in parts of Canada and the northern fringe of the United States, which count not a single pure-blood among their inhabitants, and white parishes (as in parts of New Brunswick, Quebec, Manitoba) where everyone has some share of Indian blood. In 1879, Dr. Havard estimated that there were in Canada and the United States 40,000 half-breeds of French-Indian descent. The fact that many of the employees of the Hudson's Bay Company were Scotch and English led to the formation in certain parts of Canadian Northwest of other varieties of *métis*, who made themselves a forceful element in the social and political life of the country. Elsewhere in North America the whites and Indians have mingled on a smaller scale. The Eskimo have intermarried with the Danes in Greenland and with the descendants of Englishmen in Labrador. Many of the Canadian Iroquois are half-French, many of the American Iroquois half-English. The Eastern Algonkian Indians of Maine have now mixed with both French and English to a considerable extent.

In the Carolinas, the Cherokees, a branch of the Iroquoian stock, have some admixture of white blood, to which Mr. Mooney attributes much of the remarkable progress made by these Indians; the half-breed Sequoyah has been called "the American Cadmus" from his invention of the Cherokee alphabet, still in active use among his people. The "Indian Territory" has long been a meeting-ground of the races, and will enter the Union, as the province of Manitoba did the Canadian Dominion, with a large population of mixed bloods.

Some of the "first families of Virginia" are proud to trace back their ancestry, as could John Randolph, to Pocahontas, the Indian "princess," who married Rolfe, the Englishman. The descendants of the Baron de St. Casteins and his Abnaki bride are perhaps still to be found in Maine, as are in parts of Ontario and New York some of the descendants of the famous Iroquois, Joseph Brant, and his half-breed wife. Some of the most eminent men in public life in Canada have some strains of Indian blood. In parts of the American Northwest this is true also of many of the most prominent citizens. In far northern Idaho there dwells one David McLaughlin, son by an Ojibwa woman of "Oregon" McLaughlin, celebrated in the annals of the Pacific coast; in 1891, his daughter, by a Kootenay wife, was reported to be about to marry a storekeeper, who is Irish. A further instance of the complication revealed by a study of race-mixture in North America may be seen in the marriage, in 1817, of Capt. John S. Pierce, U. S. A., brother of President Franklin Pierce, to the beautiful Josette La Framboise, who was at least a quarter Indian (Ottawa). Had President Pierce not married, it is possible that the "lady of the White House" might have been one who represented in her personality both the white and the red race. In the latter part of the eighteenth century a young Irish gentleman, who had tired of the Old World, met in what is now Michigan, Neengai, the fair daughter of Waubojee, the Ojibwa chieftain, whom he soon married. Mr. and Mrs. Johnston had daughters, who proved no less attractive to white men than their mother had been. One of these married a French Canadian prominent in the industrial development of the province of Ontario; another, the Rev. Mr. McMurray, afterwards Episcopal archdeacon of Niagara; a third Henry R. Schoolcraft, the ethnologist. Industry, the church and science were thus touched by the descendants of the old Ojibwa chief.

Such cases as these are typical for the intermixture that has gone on in North America, but in other parts of the continent intermingling has occurred *en masse* and the future of most of the Spanish-American republics lies as much in the Indian as in the white element of their population. The combinations of Spaniard and Aztec in Mexico, of Spaniard and Maya in Central America, of Spaniard and Quechua-Aymara in Peru, of Spaniard and Araucanian in Chili, are producing races that are not going to die out or become utterly degenerate. It is quite within the bounds of possibility that in these lands the old Indian type, modified, perhaps, by white contact, will again become dominant and the descendants of the aborigines conquered by force of arms by the Europeans really rule the descendants of the latter by peaceful force of circumstances. South America, Central America and perhaps Mexico, may once again have their fortunes set to the inspiration of the genius of the Red Man. This is not too much to expect of a race that produced the Incas and the Montezumas of old, and in the stress of the last century such men as President Barrios of Guatemala (a full-blood Cakchiquel), President Juarez of Mexico (a full-blood Zapotec), whom our own Seward declared to be the greatest man he had ever met, Nez Percé Joseph, the wonderful leader of the Indian anabasis, and Dr. Oronihatekha, head of the Independent Order of Foresters of Canada, whose executive abilities are rewarded with a salary of \$10,000 per year. The present ruler of Mexico, Porfirio Diaz, one of the really great men of today, has not a little Indian blood in his veins. Only the sparser numbers of the aborigines in North America have saved the European settlers and their descendants from facing the same future that confronts South America. Indeed, if we believe Professor Starr and others of like mind, the white population of the New World if it is to hold it to the full, must even approach somewhat the aborigines in physical



and mental type, this being the penalty of intrusion into a new environment which even the inventive genius and creative skill of the Anglo-Saxon cannot manage entirely to avoid or render innocuous.

A great deal, physically, the American Indian has left to his white successors and supplanters. Is there any noble ideal that has come down the ages from him to us? If we study the history of the Iroquois and the life of their great statesman and reformer, Hiawatha, we shall be convinced that strong men and true were in this land before us. The idea of federation, as exploited by these Indians, and the effort of Hiawatha to band together all peoples of his time into one everlasting warless brotherhood, but foreshadowed the existence and the destiny of our great Union of many races and its message of peace to the world. The first great peace congress of mankind, consciously and deliberately organized by the genius of one individual, was held not at The Hague, but beside the blue waters of old Ontario, centuries ago. Before the Czar disarmers came the Iroquois peacemaker. We still yearn for the poet to sing and the artist to paint or to carve in marble, this hero of the primitive world.

These are but a few of the chapters and verses in the book of the deeds of the Red Race. The complete history has yet to be written. One of our minor American poets once sang:

"The doomed Indian leaves behind no trace,  
To save his own or serve another race;  
With his frail breath his power has passed away,  
His deeds, his thoughts, are buried with his clay.  
His heraldry is but a broken bow,  
His history but a tale of wrong and woe,  
His very name must be a blank."

How immeasurably untrue and unjust such words are, the facts set forth in this paper, have, I think, shown beyond a doubt.

Whoever visits the great cathedral of St. Paul's in London may read on the tomb of him who was the architect of its beauty, the inscription: *Si monumentum requiris, circumspice*. So may we say of the Indian who was before us in the possession of this New World, which is yet old: "If thou seekest his monument, look around."

To the men, women and children of the Red Race of America, past and present, known and unknown, who, by living or by dying, have contributed to the health, happiness, wealth, wisdom and peace of the world, this brief record of their deeds is dedicated by one who has sought to know them, and, in the seeking, learned to love them.

**EDWARD WOODVILLE—KNIGHT-ERRANT;**

**A STUDY OF THE RELATIONS OF ENGLAND AND SPAIN IN THE LATTER  
PART OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.**

BY ROGER B. MERRIMAN.

THE isolation of mediæval Spain is a platitude of European history. One may study this country from 900 to 1450 thoroughly, nay almost profoundly, without knowing anything at all about other continental nations. The important points of contact of Spain with the outside world during that long period may be counted on the fingers of one hand. A Castilian sovereign is candidate for the imperial throne in the last half of the thirteenth century, at the time of the Great Interregnum. One of the greatest of English kings, and one of the earliest of English dukes also, married into the royal house of Castile. Aragonese are to be found in Southern France in the early thirteenth century, involved both in the suppression and also in the defence of the Albigensian heresy. They gain a foothold in Sicily and Italy after the fall of the Hohenstaufen. Finally a distant eddy of the Hundred Years War between France and England carries us for a brief moment upon Spanish soil,—but that is practically all. In general we may say that Spain held herself aloof from the rest of Europe throughout the Middle Ages.

With the accession of Ferdinand and Isabella in the latter part of the fifteenth century, there comes a sudden and startling change. From her old position of oblivion and insignificance, Spain springs into the foremost place in Europe, where she remains for nearly a hundred years. United at home, by the expulsion of the Moors

from Granada and by the joining of the crowns of Castile and Aragon, she is the first to dispute with France the possession of Italy. Marriage alliances are arranged with other nations: one of them was destined in the near future to make the Spanish king Emperor and temporal head of Christendom. Especially close are the ties that now bind Spain to England,—the nation from which, of all others, she had been most widely separated in the preceding centuries.

It is to a few of the causes and aspects of this momentous entanglement of Spanish and English affairs that I wish to invite your attention today; and then to say a few words about the life of a man, unknown and obscure, whose adventurous career was not without influence in hastening the *rapprochement* of the two nations.

The first and most obvious general cause of this sudden and remarkable fusion of the interests of Spain and England lies in the striking similarity of the condition of the two realms in the latter half of the fifteenth century, and of the aims and ambitions of their respective sovereigns. To the English Wars of the Roses corresponds almost exactly, both in time and in character, the baronial anarchy of the miserable reign of Henry the Impotent of Castile: the wild, stormy, restless rule of John II. in Aragon is but another aspect of the same picture. To devastating civil war succeeds in both kingdoms a period of internal peace and of absolute monarchy. Both Henry VII. and Ferdinand and Isabella elevate the kingship to an impregnable position on the ruins of every other institution that had ever been its rival. Both thrones are unsuccessfully claimed by pretenders. To Lambert Simnel, Perkin Warbeck, and Edmund de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk in England, correspond la Beltraneja of doubtful paternity and her host of Portuguese adherents in Spain. Constitutionally and institutionally too, ~~we find the same~~ striking similarity. The advent of the legists in the

principal organ of Castilian government, the *Concejo*, has its counterpart in England in the rise to political prominence of Empson and Dudley and their crowd of low-born adherents. ~~In both countries the old nobility of birth, the hereditary foe of the monarchy, is elbowed aside; its place in the government is taken by the self-made man, who recommends himself by his ability as a statesman, or his subserviency to the interests of the crown. It is possible that the judicial reforms of the Catholic Kings may have suggested to Henry VII. the idea of reorganizing and legalizing the Star Chamber as a means of centralizing the government, and bringing order out of the chaos that had hitherto reigned supreme. It is a significant fact that we find instituted in both countries at the same time a system of criminal procedure, by which the king's officer became at once prosecutor and judge. It is perhaps unnecessary to add that such a device was so foreign to the spirit of English law that it could not long survive. The act of 1495 that brought it into being was repealed in 1509, when Henry VII. was succeeded by his more popular and at first liberal-minded son. Still, horrible as such a law may seem to us today, there can be little doubt that it was both expedient and necessary then, as a means of re-establishing order and as a safeguard against baronial revolt. At any rate the watchword of the sovereigns of both countries at home was centralization, and the similarity of the methods they used to secure it, is as striking as that of the situation of the realms which rendered it necessary.~~

The internal conditions of the two countries might have been essentially alike, and yet they might never have come into contact, had not the foreign policy of their respective sovereigns been guided by the same principles. But here too the similarity is as striking as before. Neither country was perfectly friendly to France; both had great issues at stake in the struggle that was

going on in the extreme northwest of that country, where the Duke of Brittany, the last of the great French feudatories, was making a desperate effort to maintain his independence, and preserve his duchy from absorption by the French crown. The reason why this struggle for the maintenance of Breton independence interested so profoundly the sovereigns of Spain and England was briefly as follows. Both rulers were imbued with the idea of strengthening the position of their respective dynasties by advantageous foreign marriages: it was natural that an alliance between them should take place. But the position of the Spanish sovereigns, at the time of which we are speaking, was by far the stronger, owing principally to the fact that they gained their throne six years before the English king gained his; and it was therefore as a suppliant that Henry VII. had to approach them, when in the spring of 1488 he made the first overtures for a marriage between Katharine, the youngest daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, and his own oldest son Arthur. The Spanish sovereigns well knew their advantage: the price which they asked for the hand of their daughter was high. Their hearts' desire at that moment was to regain for themselves two rich provinces in the south of France, by name Cerdagne and Roussillon: these provinces had of old belonged to Spain, but had been ceded to France in return for military aid in the civil wars of a quarter of a century before. To regain them, Ferdinand and Isabella needed to keep the French king, the hare-brained Charles VIII., occupied and embarrassed in the north. They knew that the Duke of Brittany, unaided, was too weak to do this: they therefore determined to ask Henry VII. to aid him:—to win Cerdagne and Roussillon for them from France, by embarrassing Charles VIII. and prolonging the struggle in Brittany; such was the price they asked for their daughter's hand. The payment of that price involved tremendous sacrifices for Henry VII. Ever since

Arthur  
+ Katharine

~~his accession in 1485, he had painfully and wearily endeavored, in the face of violent opposition from the mass of his people, and of a tradition of two hundred years' standing, to follow a policy of peace with France. The Spanish demands involved an immediate and complete abandonment of that policy, and other scarcely less unwelcome changes. Yet the advantages of the Spanish match seemed so great in his eyes that Henry resolved to pay the price. We thus see that it is in Spain that we must look for the explanation of the desultory half-hearted struggle which England in alliance with Brittany waged with France during the next few years, and which was finally brought to a close by the treaty of Etaples in November, 1492.~~

In the midst of these stirring scenes was lived the ~~most important part of the life of an Englishman, a sort of knight-errant, whose cosmopolitan career was probably instrumental in knitting more closely the ties that united England to Spain and Spain to England in these crucial years of the development of Europe.~~ Edward Woodville was one of fourteen children of Richard Woodville, country gentleman, and Jacquetta of Luxembourg, widow of that Duke of Bedford who was brother to the Lancastrian King Henry V.; Edward was probably the fourth of five surviving sons of this marriage, all of whom attained considerable prominence in the Wars of the Roses.<sup>1</sup> ~~By far the most distinguished member of the family however was his elder sister Elizabeth, who chose as her first husband a private gentleman by the name of Grey, but who, on his death, had the good fortune to attract the attention of the Yorkist King Edward IV., and was finally married to him in 1471.~~

This union naturally tended to bring the Woodville family into great prominence at court—favours, pensions

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<sup>1</sup> Dict. Natl. Biog., Vol. LXII., p. 416.

and titles of nobility were showered on them in great profusion. The marriage of Elizabeth Woodville also effaced any earlier loyalty which her family may have evinced towards the House of Lancaster on account of her mother's first marriage: they became thenceforward staunch supporters of the House of York. Of the earlier years of our hero, who was probably born about the year 1448, not one single authentic record has come down to us. The first event in his life of which we can be absolutely certain is that he was one of a great number of lords and gentlemen who escorted the corpse of Edward IV. through the streets of London, in the funeral procession to its last resting-place, April 17, 1483. As he is there mentioned as Sir Edward Woodville, we infer that he had been knighted some time before.<sup>1</sup>

Though a staunch Yorkist and above all a loyal supporter of Edward IV., Edward Woodville shared to the full the hatred and fear which the rest of his family felt towards the brother of the late king, Richard, Duke of Gloucester and York, that monster of cruelty and wickedness, who a few months later was to cap the climax of a long series of crimes by murdering his two nephews, the lawful heirs to the throne, and by seizing the crown himself. When the Woodvilles perceived what direction the ambition of this man was taking, they made every effort to thwart him. Among other things they fitted out a fleet, which was intended to breed trouble for the usurper on the high seas; and of this fleet we know that our hero was given the chief command. On the 14th of May, 1483, *i. e.* just twenty-seven days after the funeral of Edward IV., a royal commission was made out to "Edward Brampton, John Wellis and Thomas Grey to go to the see with shippes to take Ser Edward Wodeville."<sup>2</sup> The

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<sup>1</sup> Letters and Papers of the reigns of Richard III. and Henry VII.: ed. Gairdner Vol. I., p. 6.

<sup>2</sup> Nichols, Grants of Edward V.: p. 3.



fleet was not captured indeed, but for all that the plots of the Woodvilles came to naught, and those who had remained in England were for the most part executed as traitors. Sir Edward however was more fortunate; in July, 1483, he and his company had landed in Brittany. This is proved by a letter of instruction given by Richard to a certain Dr. Hutton, who is therein commanded to go to Brittany, to assure its duke of the good-will of the king of England and especially to "fele and understand the mynde and disposicion of the duc anempst Sir Edward Wodeville and his reteignue, practizing by all meanes to him possible to enserche and knowe if ther be entended eny enterprise out of land upon any part of this realme."<sup>1</sup>

It is more than a year before we hear of Sir Edward Woodville again: and in the interim it is obvious that he had joined his fortunes to another foe of Richard III., far more formidable than himself, Henry, Earl of Richmond, the future Henry VII., who since 1471 had been in hiding in Brittany. Richmond was of course as strongly Lancastrian in his sympathies as Woodville was Yorkist: but the two men, both exiles in a foreign land, were drawn close together by a common detestation of Richard III. In May, 1484, we find Richmond making preparations to leave Brittany and flee to France: for the long-deferred struggle between these two powers was at last coming to a head, and the Duke of Brittany, forced by political necessity to seek aid from Richard III. could ill afford to harbor within his domains any enemies of the king of England. Richmond was therefore obliged to escape secretly to the court of Charles VIII.; he left behind him however a large company of his retainers, probably with the idea of deceiving the Duke of Brittany in regard to his own intentions. Among that company, we are told, on the authority of the chronicler Edward Hall, was our

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<sup>1</sup> *Letters and Papers of the reigns of Richard III. and Henry VII.*: ed. Gairdner, Vol. I., pp. 22, 23.

hero Sir Edward Woodville: and the story goes on to say that the Duke of Brittany, who, though forced by political necessity to side with Richard III., was personally friendly to Richmond, took pains to send Woodville and his companions after the earl into France, and that the latter subsequently took occasion cordially to thank him for his kindness.<sup>1</sup>

Again there intervenes a long period, during which we have not a single historic notice of our hero: in fact the next time we hear of him he is found in the armies of Ferdinand and Isabella before Granada in May, 1486. It is not difficult to guess what his career had been in the interim. We know that in 1484 he had joined his fortunes to those of Henry of Richmond, there can be little doubt that he accompanied the latter from France on his final and successful attempt on England in August, 1485; he probably fought at Henry's side at Bosworth Field, and satisfied his hatred of Richard III. in the sight of the latter's bloody death and burial. But we may well believe that Woodville, who though a personal enemy of Richard III. was also (as we must not forget) Yorkist in sympathy, soon tired of the peaceful and essentially Lancastrian court of the first Tudor king, and longing to return to that restless, warlike career which had become a second nature to him, went abroad in search of adventure—possibly at the suggestion of Henry VII. himself. The eyes of all Christendom were at that moment turned on Granada, where the Moors were making their last desperate stand in Western Europe against the armies of the Catholic Kings. Thither Woodville turned his steps, intent on bearing a hand in the capture of this last stronghold of the infidel.

Two contemporary accounts—the one in Spanish by Andrez Bernaldez, chaplain of the archbishop of Seville,

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Hall, pp. 403-405.

the other in Latin by Peter Martyr d'Angleria, the Italian courtier and historian, both eye-witnesses of the scenes they describe—record the tale of Woodville's adventures in Spain. Bernaldez tells us that one day in the month of May in the year 1486, the King Don Fernando, with a mighty host, and many Castilian nobles, left Cordova and encamped near the town of Loja: and there came with him an English lord, a relative of the English Queen, who called himself Lord Scales.<sup>1</sup> [This man was certainly no other than our friend Sir Edward Woodville, who apparently was not above the then common practice of appropriating appellations not strictly his own. ~~The title of Lord Scales belonged indeed to his elder brother Anthony in right of his wife Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of Thomas, 7th Baron Scales; but Sir Edward Woodville himself had no claim to it whatsoever.~~ Apparently, however, he had presented himself at the Spanish court under this title, doubtless with the idea of impressing the Spaniards with his power and importance; and it is certain that he was known under no other name during his sojourn there.] Bernaldez goes on to tell us that this noble lord came to Spain to serve God and make war on the Moors, with three hundred valiant soldiers and archers in his train. The Moors issued forth from Loja in large numbers, to prevent the Christian camp from being pitched before the town, and a vigorous action with arrows and small ordnance ensued between them and the Castilians and the followers of Lord Scales. The latter, seeing that the encounter had begun, desired leave to fight after the manner of his country; and, dismounting from his horse, and armed with sword and battle-axe, he charged forward at the Moorish host before them all, with a small company of his men, armed like himself, slashing and hacking with brave and manly hearts, killing and dis-

<sup>1</sup> Or perhaps more precisely Count of the Scales—"Conde de las Escalas" is the Spanish phrase.

mounting right and left. The Castilians, seeing this charge, rushed on to support it, following on the heels of the Englishmen with such valor that the Moors turned tail and fled, the Christians chasing them into the suburbs of Loja, which they captured and did not lose again. Many Moors were killed in this encounter, and some Christians as well, and the English lord was struck with a stone which broke his teeth, and three or four of his men were slain.<sup>1</sup> And Peter Martyr, taking up the tale where Bernaldez leaves off, tells us further that Lord Scales was brought back senseless to his tent, where his life was saved by the extraordinary skill of the surgeons, though it was found impossible to replace his broken teeth. As soon as he was permitted to leave his tent, he went to pay his homage to the Queen, who testified her sympathy for his misfortune. But the youth spoke lightly of his wound. "Christ, who reared this whole fabric," said he, "has merely opened a window, in order more easily to discern what goes on within." A witty response, concludes Martyr, which so pleased the Spanish sovereigns that shortly afterwards they sent him home to his native land in England, laden with many splendid gifts.<sup>2</sup>

There is little to be added to these accounts save an enumeration of the splendid gifts, of which Peter Martyr speaks. They apparently included twelve Andalusian horses of the finest breed, two couches with richly wrought hangings and coverings of cloth of gold, a quantity of fine linen, and sumptuous pavilions for Woodville and all his suite. It seems reasonably certain then that our hero made a most favorable impression on the Spanish sovereigns, who were not wont to be as liberal as this: it is also highly probable that he came home greatly impressed with their power and might. All contemporary accounts agree in regard to the splendor of their cavalcade before Granada,

<sup>1</sup> Bernaldez, *Reyes Catolices*, Vol. I., pp. 216, 217.

<sup>2</sup> Peter Martyr, *Opus Epistolarum*. Lib. I.; Epist. LXII.

in which not only England, but also all the other great continental nations were represented. It is even possible that Woodville may have met there Christopher Columbus, who was probably at that time a suppliant for royal aid on his famous voyage of discovery—a link between the old world and the new.<sup>1</sup> Altogether there can be little doubt that our hero returned to England with a great idea of the strength and glory of Spain, a fact which has an interesting bearing on what follows.

Again an interval of nearly two years elapses before we come upon another historic record of Sir Edward Woodville, and this next one is the last. As a knowledge of his final venture and death is indispensable to a correct understanding of his experience in Spain and its bearing on what followed, we had better pass on to this last authentic notice of him at once, and draw our deductions afterward. It has come down to us from two sources—one a letter of William Paston to Sir John Paston dated May 13th, 1488;<sup>2</sup> the other, the contemporary, or nearly contemporary chronicle of Edward Hall. The latter is the more complete; and the following quotation from it gives by far the best account of the last adventure in which our hero was concerned. The date at which the first events recorded took place may be fixed as early in May, 1488; the last act of the tragedy occurs on the 27th of the following July. The scene is laid once more in Brittany, where the struggle of the duke to maintain his independence of the French crown had at last come to a crisis.

"Syr Edward, lord Wooduile<sup>3</sup> vncle to the Quene, a valyaunt Capitayne, and a bolde Chāpion," so runs the story, "either abhorryng ease and ydlenes, or inflamed with ardent loue and affeccio toward the duke of Britayne,

<sup>1</sup> Winsor, *Christopher Columbus*, pp. 157-ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Paston Letters*: ed. Gairdner, Vol. III., p. 344.

<sup>3</sup> "*Lord Wooduile*" is almost certainly a mistake of Hall's. We have no record that our hero was ever raised to the peerage; and we can be reasonably sure that he died as he had lived, plain Sir Edward Woodville.

desyred very earnestly of kynge Henry, y<sup>t</sup> if it were hys will and pleasure, that he with a conuenient number of good men of warre woulde transport hym selfe into Brit-eine, for y<sup>e</sup> aide and defence of duke Fraunces, the kynges assured and proued frende. And least it should sowe or kyndle any dissenciō or ingratitude betwene the Frenche kyng and him, he sayde that he woulde steale priuely ouer, and without any licence or pasporte, as though no man shoulde thinke or doubte but he were fled, & abandoned the realme without any fraude or male engyn. But the kyng, which had a firme confidence, that peace should be made by the polletique prouision and wyse inuencion of hys elected Ambassadors, woulde in nowise geue the brydle to hys hote, hasty and wilde desire, but streyghtly prohibited hym to attempte anye suche strategeme or enterpryce, thinkynge that it stode not with hys honor to offende the Frenche kyng, to whome he woulde shewe as muche amitie and humanitie as he might, for suche a matter that coulde neither greatly profite the Bryttones, nor yet cause hym to surceasse of his appoynted inuasion and pretended enterpryce. Yet this lord Wooduile hauyng playne repulse and denyall of the kynge, could not thus rest, determined to worke hys busynes secretly without any knowlege of y<sup>e</sup> kyng, and went streyght into the Isle of wight, wherof he was made ruler and capitayne, and there gathered together a crewe of tall & hardye personages, to the number of iiij. C. and with prosperous wynde and wether arryued in Briteyne, and ioyned hym selfe with the Brytons agaynst the Frenche power and nacion. The rumor of this doying was sone blowen into the courte of Fraūce, whiche made the Ambassadors of Englande not smally abasshed, which knowing perfighty y<sup>e</sup> Frenche hartes to be prone and ready at all tymes to reuenge and do outrage to suche as displeased them, were sodainly afraied least the commō people coulde not withoolde their hādes from quereling or fraiying, albeit the lawe of armes, and the treuth it selfe did defende and preserue them from iniury. But whiles the oratoures were in this perplexite and fear of daungier, and whiles the Frenchmen suspected this facte to be done by a cautell of kyng Henry, there came other new messengers from him to the French kyng, to purdge hymself to his frend of the suspected ingratitude,

certefying hym and declaring (by most euident tokens & apparant argumentes) that the lord Wooduile without his knowlege or consent, was sayled ouer into Britayne with so small a number of men, which smal handful, neither it becomed a prince to sende or set forward, neither yet coulde do to the Brytaynes any great aide or succoure: To the which message and excuse, albeit the Frenche kyng adhibited but small credence, yet he some what mitigate of his angre and furious agony, dissimuled the matter (accordyng to the Frēch nature) with a flatterying countenance. So the Ambassadors renewynge a league and amitie bewene their kyng and hym for. xii. monethes, returned into Englande againe, and shewed the kyng al such thinges that they had either heard or sene there. The kyng of England well perceyued by the report of hys newly returned Oratoures, that the Frenche kyng wrought all hys feates by subtyll craft and cloked collusion, treatyng and mocionynge peace and concorde, when he desyred nothing so much as discorde and warre, and that purpose he auauenced and set forwarde with sayle & ower, to the vttermost poynt of his habilitie. Wherefore kyng Henry beyng assured of all the French kynges actes and cogitaciōs, determined now with all celerite to set forth out of hand al such thinges as here before had cōcluded, cōcerning the warre of Britayne, as you haue heard. Wherefore he called his high courte of Parliament, and there fyrst consulted with the peres and cōmynaltie of hys realme, for the aiding of the duke of Britayne. Then for the maintenaunce of the warres, diuers summes of money were graūted and geuen, beside certayne decrees & actes made for the vtilite of the common wealth. And assone as the Parliament was ended, he caused mustres to be had in certayne places of hys realme, and souldiours mete for the warre to be put in a redynes. Yet least peraduenture he might seme willingly to breake the amitie, which was betwene the Frenche kyng and hym, he sente diuers notable Ambassadors into Fraunce to certefye the Frenche kyng, that of late he hadde kepte a solempne Parliamente, in the whiche it was condiscended and agreed by the lordes temporall and spirituall, and knyghtes of counties, and magistrates of cities, and borowghes of his realme not onely consideryng the relief, comforte and aide that he had

receyued at the dukes hande, bothe for the sauegard of his lyfe, and for the recoueryng of hys enheritaunce and kyngdome, but also remembryng that Brytayne of auncient tyme was subject & vassal to the realme of Englande, which countrey also hath been frendly, and aiders to the English nacion when it was vexed, bothe with foreyne powers and domesticall sedicion, to aide, comferte and assist the Brytishe nacion with all their strength, might and habilitie againste all their enemyes, frendly admonishyng hym that he should either desist from hys warre in Brytayne newly incepted, or els not be greued if he did agre (as reason woulde) to the myndes, judgement and determinacion of the princes and prelates of hys realme, assuryng hym in the woorde of a kynge, that hys armye should onely discende in the duchy of Brytayne, not to inuade or make warre in the Frenche kynges realme or territoryes, but onely to defend the duchy of Britayne, and to profligate and expell all the intrudors & inuasours of the French nacion, whiche injustly occupied and inuaded the Brytannicall tytles and seignories. With these commaundemētes the English Ambassadors departed, and declared to the Frenche king all the mynde and will of their Kyng and souereigne lord. Whiche message he dissimuled as litle to regarde as the bytyng of a flee, as though the Englishmen in the battaile, whiche he knewe to be at hande, coulde do no enterprice (as it happened in dede) either necessary to be feared or worthy to be remembred. The cause of hys so sayyng was thys, he knowynge that hys army was puissaunt and stronge in Britayne, and that the Britaynes had but a few Englishmen with the lorde Wooduile, of whome he passed litle, and seyng that Englād had not yet sent any army thether for the dukes succour, judged surely that hys army woulde do some great exployte (as they did in dede) before either the duke shoulde be purueyed or any aide ministred. And as he imaged so it folowed, for the Frenchmen sore oppressed the countrey of Britayne and brent and distroyed cities, and beseged the toun of Fōgeres so that the duke of Britayne was encouraged by the duke of Orliance, and other rebelles of the Frenche kyng, manfully to fight and geue battaile to the Frēch army. And so the XXV. daye of Iuly they set forward, & came to a toun



whiche the Frenchmen had gotten, called saint Aulbyne. The Frenchmen were not ignoraunt of their commyng, but put them selves in a redynes. Of whiche armye was Capytaines, The lorde Lewes of Treuoyle, vyscount of Thonars, a Gascoyn, Adryan lorde of Mountfalcoyse. On the Brytones parte were cheuetaynes, Lewes duke of Orliaunce and the prynce of Orenge, whiche because they and other of the Frenchmen were all on horsebacke, were mistrusted of the Brytones, least they woulde at their moost nede flye.

“Wherefore they discended on fote, and the duke and the prince put the selves in the battaile of the Almaynes: The Marshal of Rieux was appoynted to the vauntgarde. The middle warde was delyuered to the lord Dalebret, and the rereward to the lorde Chateaw Bryand, and to make the Frenchemen beleue that they had a great number of Englishmen (notwithstandynge there were but foure hundreth with the lorde Wooduile) they appareled a thousand and seuen hundred Brytons in cotes with red crosses after the English fasshion. Whenbothe the armyes were approchyng to the other, the ordinaunce shot so terribly and with suche a violence, that it sore dammaged and encombred bothe the parties. When the shot was finished, bothe the vantgardes ioyned together with suche a force that it was maruell to beholde. The Englishmen shot so fast, that the Frēchmen in the forward, were fayne to recule to the battaile where their horsemen were. The rereward of the Frenchmen, seyng thys fyrst discōfiture began to flye, but the Capitaynes retired their men together agayn, & the horsemē set fiercely on the Brytaines, and slewe the moost parte of the fotemē. When the forward of the Brytones perceaued that their horsemē nor the Almaines came not forward they prouided for the selves & fled, some here, and some there, where they thought to haue refuge or succour. So that in conclusiō the Frenchmē obteyned the victory, & slew all such as ware red crosses, supposyng the all to be Englishmē. In thys cōflict were slayn almost all the Englishmen, & six. M. Brytones, Emōgest whome were founde dead the lorde Wooduile, & the lord Iames Galeas borne in Napels. And of the Brytones there were slayne the lord of Leon, the lorde Mountfort, the lorde Pontlabbe & many noble & notable persones of the British

nacion. Of the French naciō were slayne. xii. C. persones. The prynce of Orenge, & the duke of Orliaunce were taken prysoners, which duke (although he were next heyre apparaūt to the croune of Frauce) should haue lost hys head, if lady Iane his wyfe which was systre to Charles the Frech king had not obtained pardō & remissiō of his trespasse & offence. Howbeit he was lōg after kept prysoner in the great Toure at Bourges in Berry. This infortunate metyng chaūced to the Britaynes on a mōday, beyng the. xxvii. day of Iuly, in the yere of our redepciō. M. cccc. lxxxviij. & in the iii. yere of kyng Henry the. vii." <sup>1</sup>

Here then we have the bare facts. Sir Edward Woodville sails in May to aid in the maintenance of Breton independence, directly against the wishes of Henry VII., who at that time wished to remain at peace with France. Then the English king, about a month later, and apparently without any very sufficient cause (Hall fails to assign sufficient grounds for his action) turns straight around and declares war on France in alliance with Brittany. Then comes the final tragedy, the sudden invasion of French armies into the duchy, before the English king could send aid to Woodville (of whose rash venture of two months before he must now have begun heartily to approve); and lastly the overthrow of Breton independence and the death of our hero at the battle of St. Aubin-du-Cormier on the 27th of July, 1488. These are the facts; we have now to discover some motives for this mad adventure of Woodville and still more for the subsequent change of front of Henry VII.—some motives more plausible than those given by Hall—and finally to draw our deductions and assign to the whole affair its proper place in the course of European history.

There was probably a far closer connection between Woodville's experience in Spain, and his final venture and death in Brittany than would at first appear. It was on March 10th, 1488 (*i. e.* probably a year or more after

<sup>1</sup> Hall, pp. 439-441.

Woodville's return from Spain, and two months before his departure to aid Brittany against the king's will) that Henry sent a formal embassy to Ferdinand and Isabella to sue for the hand of their daughter Katharine for his son Arthur;<sup>1</sup> and sometime in the first two weeks of May, that is at precisely the time that Woodville left for Brittany, the English king received a reply, which, though leaving all details to future arrangement, was distinctly favorable in tone.<sup>2</sup> The first meeting of plenipotentiaries for settlement of details began in London, July 7th,<sup>3</sup> that is, just three weeks before the battle of St. Aubin-du-Cormier, in which Woodville was slain. It is highly probable that it was at this meeting that Henry first learned what the price of the Spanish match would be—I have already indicated it—aid to the duke of Brittany in the maintenance of his independence, so as to embarrass France in the north, and force her to cede to Ferdinand and Isabella the coveted provinces of Cerdagne and Roussillon in the south. It was probably this knowledge that led Henry to make the sudden change from friendship to enmity with France which Hall describes, but for which he fails to assign either adequate cause or date—a change which, however, may be taken to have occurred a week or so before the battle of St. Aubin, so short a time before it in fact, that, as we have already seen, Henry had been unable to send aid to Woodville and preserve the independence of the duchy.

It is of course exceedingly dangerous to construct historic theories on insufficient data, but it is a noteworthy fact that all the evidence we have points to the conclusion that Woodville was instrumental in persuading Henry to seek this Spanish match, and also to pay the price of its accomplishment. That the similarity of the aims of the Spanish and English sovereigns, both at home and abroad,

<sup>1</sup> Rymer, *Fœdera*, XII., pp. 336-7.

<sup>2</sup> Bergenroth, *Calendar of Spanish Despatches*, I.: No. 15. <sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, I., Nos. 20, 21.

and of the conditions of their respective countries was in itself an excellent groundwork for a treaty of alliance is undeniable; still some definite cause for bringing matters to a head was needed; and we may well believe that Woodville, who had the ear of the king, and who returned from Spain in 1486 or 1487, deeply impressed with the power and importance of the Spanish sovereigns, had a large share in persuading Henry to make the first move, i. e. to send the embassy of March 10th, 1488. Certainly it is difficult to assign any other definite cause for the departure of the ambassadors at this precise juncture. The later career of Woodville, moreover, confirms this theory. Although of a Yorkist family and therefore hostile to France, the "ardent loue and affeccio" with which, according to Hall, he was "inflamed" for the Duke of Brittany, is scarcely in itself a sufficient cause to explain his bold venture of May, 1488, in the teeth of the royal opposition. Is it not possible that having been in Spain, and close in touch with the Spanish sovereigns, he foresaw what price they were likely to ask for the hand of their daughter, and being himself deeply interested in the success of the scheme, started off with the idea of forcing Henry into an abandonment of his old friendship with France, an abandonment which actually took place six weeks after his departure? Looked at in this light, the career of this obscure knight-errant assumes considerable importance as one of a number of causes that led up to the completion of a marriage which was destined to have results of incalculable importance for Europe and for Christendom; to be the first of a chain of events that paved the way for the English Reformation, the defeat of the Spanish Armada, the transference of the sovereignty of the seas from Spain to England, and for the conflicts of these two great powers in the New World.

## SPECIAL MEETING OF THE COUNCIL.

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A Special Meeting of the Council was held at No. 13 Foster street, in Worcester, on the 16th of November, 1903.

President Salisbury announced the death of the Hon. HENRY S. NOURSE, which occurred at his home in Lancaster, Mass., on the 14th inst.

The following minute was read by the Recording Secretary, and was adopted as the sense of the Council after remarks by Messrs. Paine, Davis and S. S. Green.

By the death of the Hon. Henry Stedman Nourse the Council of the American Antiquarian Society is called upon to mourn the loss of a most valuable member. Though but recently elected as our associate in this body, he came into a circle of intimate friends who had long known of his virtues and his merits; and the value of his assistance in our work was at once manifested and recognized. Chosen to fill the recently established office of biographer he had had but little occasion to exercise its functions, but he showed that he fully appreciated the true nature of the work required, and that he would perform it without prejudice and without flattery.

He performed much valuable historical work outside of our Society; and his last contribution to history, made at the recent annual meeting and now in press, is an evidence of his thoroughness, his public spirit and his zeal.

The death of such a man is to be mourned by all who appreciate the value of a life so full of good works, of faithful service to his family and the community, and of unquestioned integrity.

Attest: CHARLES A. CHASE,

*Recording Secretary.*



## PROCEEDINGS.

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SEMI-ANNUAL MEETING, APRIL 27, 1904, AT THE HALL OF  
THE MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY IN BOSTON.

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THE meeting was called to order by the President, the  
Hon. STEPHEN SALISBURY.

The following members were present:—

Edward E. Hale, Nathaniel Paine, Stephen Salisbury,  
Samuel A. Green, James F. Hunnewell, Edward H. Hall,  
Charles C. Smith, Edmund M. Barton, Charles A. Chase,  
Samuel S. Green, Daniel Merriman, Reuben Colton, Henry  
H. Edes, G. Stanley Hall, William E. Foster, Edwin D.  
Mead, Francis H. Dewey, Calvin Stebbins, George H.  
Haynes, William R. Livermore, Edward S. Morse, John  
Noble, Austin S. Garver, A. Lawrence Rotch, Samuel  
Uteley, James W. Brooks, Edward H. Gilbert, E. Harlow  
Russell, Benjamin T. Hill, Edmund A. Engler.

The report of the proceedings of the previous meeting  
was accepted.

The report of the Council was prepared by Dr. EDMUND  
A. ENGLER and Mr. SAMUEL SWETT GREEN. The business  
portion of the report was presented by Mr. GREEN.

The essay on the part of the Council prepared by Dr.  
ENGLER was entitled, "The Commercial Primacy of the  
United States."

Prof. E. HARLOW RUSSELL, of Worcester, read a bio-  
graphical sketch of the late HENRY S. NOURSE.

The report of the Council being now fully before the meeting, it was voted that the same be referred to the Committee of Publication.

Dr. GEORGE H. HAYNES, of Worcester, presented a paper entitled, "The Attempted Suicide of a Massachusetts Town," relating to Shays's Rebellion and the attempts of the Town of Pelham to surrender its charter.

The Recording Secretary reported that the Council recommend for election to membership: Victor Hugo Paltsits, assistant librarian of the Lenox Library; Clarence Winthrop Bowen, Doctor of Philosophy, of New York City; and Rev. John O'Dowd, A.B., of Portland, Maine.

Dr. HALE remarked: "If I may have a moment I would like to say that I think Father O'Dowd's name was placed on the list at my request. We had a very valuable member in Father O'Brien. Father O'Dowd has also distinguished himself by his studies of the Algonquian language and history. I do not know him personally, but I speak of him on the recommendation of gentlemen who know him, and speak of him as a valuable successor to Father O'Brien."

Messrs. WILLIAM R. LIVERMORE, EDWIN D. MEAD and SAMUEL UTLEY, appointed a committee to distribute and collect ballots, reported the unanimous election of the three above-named gentlemen.

A paper entitled "Certain Great Monuments," was offered by Mr. JAMES F. HUNNEWELL.

The President read an official communication and announcement of the 14th International Congress of Americanists, which occurs in Stuttgart on the 18th to the 23rd of August of this year, inviting this Society to send a delegate.



On motion of Dr. HALE, it was voted that the President be empowered to appoint any gentlemen of the Society to attend the meeting at Stuttgart.

Mr. HENRY H. EDES communicated a paper from Prof. WILLIAM D. LYMAN, of Walla Walla, Washington, entitled, "Myths and Superstitions of the Oregon Indians."

A sketch of the life, history and work of Hon. ANDREW H. GREEN, late of New York, a deceased member of the Society, was presented by Mr. SAMUEL SWETT GREEN.

The President informed the Society that Lt.-Col. WILLIAM R. LIVERMORE was present with a very large number of early historical maps of Europe, and on adjournment of the meeting would be glad to show them to any interested members.

The papers being now before the Society, it was voted that they be accepted and referred to the Committee of Publication.

The meeting then adjourned.

Many of the members present repaired to the Hotel Somerset for lunch.

CHARLES A. CHASE,  
*Recording Secretary.*

## REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.

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It will be remembered that a few years ago it was decided that the Treasurer of the Society should only read a report at the annual meeting, in October.

Six months ago, October 20, 1903, the Council passed the following vote; namely, "that the Librarian be permitted to make his report annually unless he has occasion to send in a special communication."

This vote was passed at the suggestion of the Librarian, who remarked that it seemed to him well to save the time occupied in reading the report and the space taken up in printing, because of "the increasing number of scholarly papers offered at our meetings," especially as in the case of most of the Societies with which we correspond "the library report is a yearly statement."

At a meeting of the Council held April 1, 1904, Henry Vignaud, Esquire, of Paris, was chosen a delegate of this Society to the centenary of the Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France, to be held at Paris on the 11th instant.

At the same meeting of the Council a copy of a bill for the Preservation of Historic and Prehistoric Objects, then before the Committee on Public Lands of the United States House of Representatives, was laid before it, and Dr. Engler was instructed to prepare a letter embodying suggestions of its members, to be sent to the Committee having the bill under consideration. The letter was afterwards forwarded.

It is gratifying to learn that the great work of our countryman and associate, the late Benjamin Franklin Stevens

of London, is almost if not wholly finished. I refer of course to the index of all the official documents that exist on the other side of the Atlantic regarding the American Revolution and the establishment of peace at its close. According to reports in London the latter portion of March, the last ten volumes of the work were in the hands of the binder. It is said to have taken Mr. Stevens and twenty or more assistants, thirty years to make the collection. At the end of that time they had catalogued all the documents relating to the period of our history to be covered, in possession of the British government, in private collections in Great Britain and in the archives of the governments of France, Spain and Holland. The number of documents catalogued is greater than 161,000. The index describes the character and location of every document, and consists of 180 folio volumes, containing about 500 pages each. It is stated that Mr. Stevens estimated the cost to him of the preparation of this great work as about \$100,000. When he died two years ago the material had been collected and for the most part bound. Mrs. Stevens and the partner in business of the late Mr. Stevens completed the index.

According to a letter which appeared in the *Boston Herald* of April 3, from which the particulars here given are taken, fifty of the volumes of the index contain a list of the documents catalogued in the order in which they appear in the archives and collections from which they have been taken; one hundred volumes give the documents in chronological order, with descriptions of all of them; and thirty volumes contain the documents in alphabetical order and entries, in nearly every case, under both the sender and receiver of a paper.

Among the papers referred to in the index are all the despatches and letters of the governors of the thirteen colonies before the outbreak of the Revolution and those of the British commanders during the war: General Gage, Sir

William Howe, Sir Henry Clinton, General Burgoyne and Lord Cornwallis.

It is certainly to be hoped that this great work may be bought by the United States government and placed in the Congressional Library, or by some citizen of this country who will deposit it in the library of a public institution, where it may be readily consulted by students of our history.

In this connection it seems proper to extend our thanks again to our President, Senator Hoar and Hon. Edward L. Davis for the present of Stevens's Facsimiles of Manuscripts in European Archives relating to America, 1773-83. 2107 documents are reproduced in this work, which in its completed form consists of 24 thick boxes, with an additional box for the index.

The Society has met with heavy losses by death since the last meeting. Four foreign members, all men of unusual distinction, have died, as have three resident members, who held important places in the community, two of them having endeared themselves to the members of this Society during long and pleasant companionship. These two were members of the Council, Hon. Henry Stedman Nourse and Professor Egbert Coffin Smyth. Mr. Nourse read the paper which was presented by a member of the Council, at our last meeting, and died a few days later, November 14, 1903.

Professor Smyth, our learned associate and genial, well beloved friend, passed away on the 12th of the present month.

Meetings of the Council have been held to commemorate the lives of these members. The record of one of these meetings has already been sent in print to members of the Society. The other has just been held. Mr. E. Harlow Russell will read today a notice of his old friend Mr. Nourse, and a sketch of Dr. Smyth will be prepared later for the Proceedings of the Society.

The other resident member who has died during the last six months is Hon. Andrew Haswell Green, of New York City, who was shot as he was entering his house, November 30, 1903, and died immediately. A sketch of his ancestry, life and work has been prepared by his cousin Samuel S. Green.

The foreign members who have died are: William Edward Hartpole Lecky, D.C.L., London, who died Oct. 23, 1903; Professor Christian Matthias Theodor Mommsen, Ph.D., Berlin, who died Nov. 1, 1903; Professor Hermann Eduard Von Holst, Ph.D., Freiburg, professor in Chicago University, who died Jan. 20, 1904; and Sir Leslie Stephen, Litt.D., London, who died Feb. 22, 1904.

Notices of these gentlemen will be prepared and printed at a future date.

In the last will and testament of Andrew H. Green appear the following words, in Article I: "I give and bequeath . . . E. To the American Antiquarian Society, of Worcester, Massachusetts, Five thousand dollars."

The death of Mr. Nourse left the office of Biographer vacant. Judge Samuel Utley of Worcester has been chosen to fill that position, and I am happy to say has accepted the place.

**Henry Stedman Nourse.** The echoes of his firm, incisive voice had scarcely died away in the hall where our Society held its meeting last autumn—the interval was but of days, almost of hours—when we were shocked to hear that our associate, Honorable HENRY STEDMAN NOURSE, A.M., whom we had all learned to respect for sterling qualities of mind and heart, had fallen, as it were in a moment, from a condition of ordinary though not perfect health, and was no more. The paper which he had just read to the Society was marked by that thoroughness of research and accuracy of statement which characterized all his writings; and he had stood up before us sturdily on his feet and read it to the end without a halt or a quaver of failing strength to foreshadow the eternal silence so

soon to fall upon him. Happy indeed, for him, with such eager and tireless activity of brain and hand, who would so have chafed under the arrest of slow wasting disease, that the inevitable blow was quick and final. The composed expression of his face in death was impressive and reassuring to all who saw it; it suggested the shock of corn that cometh in in his season. But notwithstanding the great consolation of so fit an end to such an honorable career, we of this Society—and not we alone—cannot accept our loss without profound regret, especially when we look around and ask, Who shall fill his place? For our friend possessed a combination of endowments and equipment and disposition that fitted him for an uncommonly wide range of serviceableness to his fellow-men.

The chronological framework of Mr. Nourse's life has already been made more or less familiar to us all through the various obituary notices and memorials that followed his death. And it will be convenient for us to follow the order of time in the brief review of his career now to be offered as part of the customary proceedings of this Society.

It should be said here, and said with grateful appreciation, that the task of the present writer has been made comparatively easy and wholly pleasant by prompt and full responses to all his many inquiries, on the part of a pretty large number of Mr. Nourse's former associates and friends, whose testimony, though frank and discriminating, has been without a single discordant note.

The life of our late associate covered a period of seventy-two years—almost three-quarters of a century—from 1831 to 1903, and thus fell in a time now generally regarded as being of profound if not paramount significance in the intellectual and political history of our country. With several intervals of absence, his home was always in his native town of Lancaster, Massachusetts, in the house where he was born and where he died. It is a country town of rare natural beauty of the quiet kind that is apt to follow the windings of a slow-moving stream; a town with a perspective of unusually picturesque history, and a population never lacking men and women distinguished for intelligence, refinement and public spirit. His parents, Stedman and Patty (Howard) Nourse, were not natives of Lancaster, but took up their abode there at the begin-

ning of their married life, building their own house, occupying it as long as they lived, and leaving it for the continued occupancy of their two children. Stedman Nourse was a carpenter by trade, and he seems to have imparted to his only son, by blood or training, excellent skill in the use of tools. Both parents were of good New England stock, with conspicuous virtues of industry, frugality, thrift and self-reliance. They were a home-loving pair, who neither sought nor shunned society, but kept the noiseless tenor of their way, free from any breath of reproach and respected by all their neighbors.

The boy Henry is remembered in the family as "having his face in a book," and no less as "always making something." He also showed more than ordinary interest in outdoor nature; was fond of taking long rambles in pastures and woods, and often brought home some curious trophy from these boyish excursions for further study or observation. A happy balance between the active and receptive parts of his disposition seems thus to have been fixed at an early age. Though shy and sensitive, he soon attracted notice for his intelligence and aptitude for study. So general was the praise of his brightness and docility that came from his teachers that the father, though of restricted means, was easily convinced that a son so promising should be sent to college, and gladly bent all his energies to that end. Henry was for a time a student at Leicester Academy, then a fitting school of high repute, but was mainly prepared for college in his native town, and entered Harvard in 1849, at the age of eighteen. That was the year of the first rush to California in search of gold; how fortunate, for him and for us, that the youth cast in his lot with the select little band who preferred to seek their fortunes along the classic sands of Pactolus rather than on the banks of the Sacramento. The class of 1853 contained a pretty large sprinkling of men who rose to distinction in after life. President Eliot, Professors Cutler, Hill, Peck, Peirce and Waterhouse, John D. Washburn, Justin Winsor and several others, have won a more than national reputation. Nourse's college rank was well above the middle of this class, though not so high as to be in the "first ten." He was highly respected by his classmates, who speak of "friendly rather than intimate" relations with him, but

there is strong testimony to the growing warmth of their attachment and esteem as later years ripened and mellowed his social qualities and more fully revealed his worth. He was a faithful and diligent rather than brilliant student; always self-respecting and courteous; but he did not, then or thereafter, dull his palm with entertainment of each new-hatched, unfledged comrade. This was due in part to an innate modesty that from childhood to age made him shrink from everything consequential or forthputting, and possibly also in some degree to an uneasy feeling that he might be less regarded by some because he would make no claim, and recognize none, to what is called "social position," but would be judged, and would judge others, by personal character and desert alone. He certainly appreciated, perhaps even exaggerated, the advantages of his college course. I do not believe he ever thought with Emerson that its chief value is "to teach the young man its little avail." He seemed almost to feel that it alone had made him what he was, and he could hardly see how anything deserving the name of scholarship or culture could be attained without it. This view made him a most loyal son of Harvard, and his filial affection found natural expression in making his *alma mater* the residuary legatee of his estate.

After graduation, feeling the need of immediate self-support, he began to teach, passing two years as instructor in Latin and Greek at Phillips Exeter Academy and two years more as principal of Bristol Academy at Taunton. He had previously, while in college, partly paid his way by teaching several terms of "district school." There is evidence that he did not regard teaching, especially of the classics, as being much to his taste, nor were his gifts probably such as ensure the highest success in that vocation. He was faithful and accurate and just, as in every other relation, but he did not possess, in addition to these essential qualities, the genial and expectant spirit—what is sometimes called the personal magnetism—that attracts and inspires the young.

It is of interest to know that at about this time Mr. Nourse was strongly attracted towards the domain of natural history, then broadening and acquiring new importance in this country through the luminous and eloquent



teaching of Louis Agassiz, and that he had serious thoughts of devoting himself to that pursuit. He was unquestionably well equipped for the study of science; but perhaps he felt the uncertainty of gaining a livelihood as a naturalist, and so turned to the more distinctly recognized profession of a civil engineer, entering in 1858 an office in Boston and applying himself with diligence to the necessary study and practice. Two years later we find him engaged as assistant engineer of construction on a railroad in Maryland, but in the fateful year 1861 the impending civil war put an end to that undertaking and turned the current of his life in a wholly new direction.

I suppose it would not be easy to name a regiment that saw a more varied and characteristic war service in the four tragic years from 1861 to 1865 than did the Fifty-fifth Illinois Infantry. In the strength of his young manhood, being then just thirty years old, Nourse joined this body of brave and patriotic men, at first as headquarters clerk, without rank or pay, and followed its fortunes until mustered out on March 29, 1865, long after his term of enlistment had expired. I am convinced that he took the field as a soldier, not from ambition for military glory, for that trait found small place in his nature, but from a deep sense of his duty as a citizen of the republic. Though advanced first to the rank of lieutenant and adjutant of his regiment, and afterwards to that of captain, and appointed commissary of musters of the 17th Army Corps, I find no evidence that he ever sought promotion, but abundant testimony from those who stood by his side that he bore himself at all times with unfaltering courage and uncomplaining fortitude. An officer of rank writes me: "I recall him vividly, because I saw him in our first battle (Shiloh) with a musket and outfit, and heard him begging the Colonel for a chance to take a shot at a rebel color-bearer before the Colonel had given the order to open fire. . . . You can safely say that this live Yankee, fresh from Harvard, entered as a stranger a wild western regiment, did a large amount of work, marched thousands of miles, fought in many battles, and did his duty faithfully and quietly, and, so far as I know, was never lacking in courtesy, either officially or personally." Much of Nourse's service was rendered unusually trying by the fact that two or

three of his superiors of the field and staff proved to be unfit for command, and the history of the regiment is in large part a story of the galling tyranny of these men borne with varying degrees of impatience by subordinates who could find no honorable means of relief. About twenty years later Mr. Nourse, in collaboration with three able men who had been his comrades, compiled and published a most thorough and painstaking "Story of the Fifty-fifth," into which he put some of the best of his historical writing. It was not our friend's habit to talk much of his army experience, perhaps because large portions of it had been so painful that he did not like to live it over again.

In 1866 our soldier, now turned civilian again, was called to a very responsible post as resident engineer in charge of the erection of the Pennsylvania Steel Works, at Baldwin (now Steelton), near Harrisburg, and was soon after made general superintendent of the company. Here he displayed the same qualities of quiet efficiency and devotion to duty that had distinguished him in the army. An intelligent and discriminating associate in the establishment at this time says of him in a recent letter, "all admired him for his integrity and manliness." He remained in this position seven years, when premonitions of failing health warned him to take a rest, and he urged his resignation upon the company.

In 1870, while in service at Baldwin, Mr. Nourse had married Mrs. Mary Baldwin (Whitney) Thurston, widow of Captain George Lee Thurston, a neighbor and friend and army comrade of Nourse's, a patriot soldier who had given his young life to his country early in the war. It was a happy union, as of the oak and the vine. They were unlike in temperament and had enjoyed a quite different early training. But each supplemented the other in salutary ways, for each possessed desirable qualities not so fully developed in the other, qualities which under the benign influence of mutual respect and affection became harmoniously blended as the years went by.

For a long vacation, Mr. and Mrs. Nourse now spent a delightful and memorable year in Europe. Upon their return they took up their permanent residence in Lancaster, and during the next twenty-five years Mr. Nourse engaged in various occupations and services, public and private,

mostly looking to the welfare of his town and state rather than to personal advantage or reward. He accepted many positions upon committees, commissions, boards of control and the like, where his wide knowledge, executive ability and excellent common sense gave him the reputation he most coveted, that of an honorable and useful citizen. He had a decided taste for historical studies and soon began to rescue from error and oblivion the annals of his native town. Four ample and goodly volumes, compiled with scrupulous care from widely scattered and often obscure sources and annotated with judgment and reserve, attest his tireless industry and clear historic sense.

His power of correct inference from few data was quick and strong. He had a rare apprehension of the possible significance of an isolated fact. He could pick up scattered bits of local history, thrown away by the unthinking, or hidden in musty records and documents, or lurking in forgotten letters, inventories, and casual memoranda, and could recombine these into a consistent mosaic that would picture a long past event, often restoring its true setting of causes and consequences. While this modest annotator and chronicler would by no means have laid claim to the imagination and philosophic insight requisite for an historian in the large sense, there are not a few passages in his writings that show a conception of the past, revived, clothed with appropriate circumstances and made to appear as the once-present. His vision was true and consistent as far as it went, and he never strained it beyond its powers.

The services performed by Mr. Nourse as a public-spirited citizen, for the benefit of his town and his state, can hardly be estimated at their full value except by his fellow-workers in the various positions of responsibility which he occupied, for he sounded no trumpet before him. In both branches of the state legislature, on the library commission, as trustee of the Worcester Insane Hospital, as member of the state board of charity, on the school committee and the library board of Lancaster—in all these relations, and many more, his courtesy, candor and good sense, his disinterestedness, his unshrinking readiness to do his full share of whatever was to be done, are gratefully remembered and spoken of by all who were associated with him. It is mentioned by the attendants that even the poor demented

patients in the hospital brightened up and smiled at his coming.

His taste was for working societies rather than social clubs, particularly for such as encourage historical research; and he accepted membership in several such organizations. He was elected a member of our body in 1883, and a member of its council in 1901. We of this Society need no reminder of the value of his work or the worth of his character as an associate, and there is no doubt that he in turn enjoyed and prized the intellectual and social privileges of membership with us.

The several impressions made by our friend upon those well acquainted with him at various periods combine to form something like a "composite photograph" of the man, in which certain features are very distinctly marked. For although, as we have seen, he engaged with zeal in a considerable number of quite different activities, his nature, on the whole, was simple, homogeneous and consistent. There seemed few, if any, warring elements in his make-up, and I fancy the case of Doctor Jekyll and Mr. Hyde would have been unintelligible to him. What he was, he was by a decided majority. An associate speaks—I think without exaggeration—of his "intense zeal for righteousness, in the conduct of affairs." In his case, "the child was father of the man." None of his youth was wasted in waywardness, and he was a stranger to dissipation, almost to recreation. Every day was made to count in whatever business he had in hand. He spent little time in hesitation over what to do, and little, I think, in regrets over what he had done. This was not only economy, it was sanity. Though surrounded by books, he was not given to desultory reading, but confined himself mainly to what would contribute to the subject he was studying. No man was ever more scrupulous in verifying his facts; he would go through with microscopic eye a whole edition of any of his published books, pen in hand, correcting minute errors of the press that had escaped the proof-reader. He was one of the most industrious and diligent of men. You never found him idle, and seldom vacillating as to the course he had better take. This singleness of purpose was part and parcel of his integrity and probity, and it operated to exclude from his character all insincerity, pre-

tense and affectation. Perhaps it also excluded a degree of geniality and *bonhomie* from his social intercourse, and imparted at times something of austerity and even acerbity to his manner. Such a person must always be out of his element in any company where compliments and the graceful sinuosities of deportment that we call "social tact" are more esteemed than frank truth and sincerity. Our plain-dealing friend certainly did not possess, nor did he covet, "those soft parts of conversation that chamberers have." That he sometimes, in fact, went towards the other extreme he probably would not have denied. If he knew a thing was true he did not greatly concern himself as to whether it would be agreeable. The thing he said would never be unfair or unkind as it lay in his own mind, or as it left his lips; but he lacked something of the sympathetic imagination that should follow or rather anticipate, the word or tone and realize how it will strike the other party.

Mr. Nourse was a typical and ideal American citizen with the New England mint-mark upon him. The blood of pilgrim and puritan mingled in his veins, and self-respect, raised to its highest power, gave direction and force to all he did. One felt the appropriateness of his preference for country life, and realized that if the last half-century had produced more men of his stamp we should have witnessed no headlong rush of our population to the cities.

Without the possession of genius; without commanding talents even; with but one signal good fortune in youth, namely, his college course; and but one in later life, his happy home,—our friend was widely respected and loved, and his memory will long be cherished, for a manly character, formed not mainly by gifts of nature, "where every god did seem to set his seal," but rather by pure aims and constant endeavor, ripened and enriched by the elevating influences that flow from the rendering of unselfish public service and from the mutual offices of noble friendships.

E. H. R.

For the Council,

SAMUEL SWETT GREEN.

## THE COMMERCIAL PRIMACY OF THE UNITED STATES.

BY EDMUND A. ENGLER.

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A frivolous Paris newspaper finds occasion for amusement in the sculptural decorations of the new Custom House Building in New York:

The ornamentation comprises four gigantic allegorical figures in marble, placed in the four corners of the vast building. These figures symbolize the industrial and commercial situation in the four great quarters of the globe.

Asia is represented by an old Oriental apparently at the last gasp.

Africa bows its head, apparently asleep.

Europe is surrounded by symbols of decadence and unmistakably is sick.

Only America stands up in all its robust force, with an air of infinite superiority over its worn-out and anæmic neighbors.

"Truly," says the Paris paper, "he is a facetious Brother Jonathan."

Whether the French joke is warranted by the sculptures in the New York building must be left to the connoisseurs to decide; but one cannot help feeling that this interpretation of them was inspired by a deeper feeling than the sense of the humorous, and may be but another of many expressions which have lately come from foreign sources, of the dread which the young giant of the western hemisphere has inspired in European countries.

Certain it is that the development of the United States in industrial and commercial lines has created alarm abroad, which has only been intensified by the prospect of her growing naval and military prowess. Backed by her

enormous accumulations of wealth, with the productiveness of her soil, the resources of her mines and the genius and superior energy of her rapidly increasing population, and her proven ability to absorb and assimilate the hordes of immigrants which are continually flocking to her shores, the rapid development of the United States is regarded everywhere abroad as a distinct menace.

A year ago in Boston Mr. John A. Hobson, the English economist, in a lecture on the industrial situation in England said:—

“The nineteenth century might well stand in history as England’s century. She had risen to commercial power greater than any other which the world had seen; her empire extended to one-fifth of the habitable area of the globe; her wealth was unexampled; half the ships on the seas were hers. While Continental Europe was devastated by Napoleonic wars there was peace on her own soil, and this was precisely the period when the powers of coal and iron were becoming recognized and utilized. Both lay together in her borders, and she had the start of all the world in the industrial age. At the close of the century, however, England did not lead the world in the application of steam and electricity as she had led it otherwise two generations ago. England, herself, was flooded with articles ‘made in Germany’ as a result of the recent industrial development of Germany, remarkably promoted by wise technical education.

“There was also ‘the American invasion’; Rockefeller supplied England with oil; Yerkes gained control of London transportation; Morgan reached out his hand for English steamships. All along the line England was feeling this pressure, which was a cardinal factor in the industrial situation.”

How different the tone of this from that of Sydney Smith in 1820, when he wrote in the “Edinburgh Review”:

“In the four quarters of the globe who reads an American book? Or goes to an American play? Or looks at an American picture or statue? What does the world yet owe to American physicians or surgeons? What new sub-

stances have their chemists discovered? Or what old ones have they analyzed? What new constellations have been discovered by the telescopes of Americans? What have they done in mathematics? Who drinks out of American glasses? Or eats from American plates? Or wears American coats or gowns? Or sleeps in American blankets? Finally, under which of the old, tyrannical governments of Europe is every sixth man a slave whom his fellow beings may buy, and sell, and torture? When these questions are fairly and favorably answered their laudatory epithets may be allowed; but till that time we would seriously advise them to keep clear of superlatives."

As some of the questions which Sydney Smith propounded three-quarters of a century ago can now be fairly and favorably answered we have his permission to indulge in a few superlatives.

Without attempting to give answer in detail, it is now to be recognized that the exports of American products have multiplied to such an extent that they are characterized in foreign countries as a "commercial invasion" which has become a real danger to foreign producers. A recent writer in London has stated that the growth of American trade is one of the wonders of the commercial world and has created general alarm abroad. It is a favorite topic for enthusiastic American writers and foreign alarmists. Commercial alliances and reciprocity treaties are occupying the minds of America's rivals and America's best customers, and to cap the climax comes the bold suggestion of Mr. Carnegie, in his Rectorial Address delivered in St. Andrews University, Scotland, something over a year ago, that "Europe will labor in vain to repel the American invasion until she secures some form of political and industrial union and becomes one united whole as the American Union is in these respects, as this is the only foundation on which she can contend successfully against America for the trade of the world."



This anxiety abroad leads us to inquire what precisely are the causes which have brought about the American invasion; what precisely is meant by the commercial prosperity of the United States which has given her the supremacy of which European nations complain; what are the prospects of a continuance of this prosperity.

Mr. Oscar P. Austin, Chief of the Bureau of Statistics of the United States Treasury Department, in a paper based upon the results of the recent census, attempts to answer these questions. His argument is as follows:—

“Of the thirty principal nations of the world only a dozen show an excess of exports over imports, and of this dozen not only does the United States stand at the head, but the excess is greater than that of all the other eleven countries of that group combined.

“The twelve countries showing a ‘favorable balance of trade’ are: Argentina, Australia, Brazil, Canada, Chili, Egypt, India, Mexico, Roumania, Russia, Uruguay, United States; and the ‘favorable balance’ of all the other eleven combined is not as great as that of the United States alone.”

The cause of the prosperity of the United States is, in a word, her industry as shown by her products. Since 1869 she has more than quadrupled the number of miles of railway in operation; she has doubled the production of corn, wheat and wool; and nearly tripled the production of cotton; has increased the production of pig iron from less than 2,000,000 to more than 15,000,000 tons; of steel from less than 100,000 tons to over 13,000,000 tons; of coal from 38,000,000 to 292,000,000 tons. The clearing-house exchanges of New York are now almost double those of 1869. The number of persons engaged in manufacturing has grown during this period from 2,000,000 to over 5,500,000; their earnings have been almost quadrupled; the capital employed has grown from 2 billions to 10 billions; and the value of manufactures produced from 4½ billions

to 13 billions of dollars, which is about three times the value of Great Britain's manufactures. All this in a short period of thirty years, while the population has been increasing 100%.

The per capita value of exports was more than doubled from 1869 to 1891; the value of agricultural products almost quadrupled, and the value of manufactures increased almost tenfold. The United States has advanced from the fourth place in the list of exporting nations in 1870, to the head of the list. In 1870, England, Germany and France exceeded us. Since 1870 the increase in the exports of the United States has been nearly as much as that of France, Germany and the United Kingdom combined, and our exportation of domestic products now exceeds that of any other nation.

In the five great requirements of man,—food, clothing, heat, light and manufactures, as analyzed by Mr. Austin,—the United States is the largest producer, and as the world is to continue demanding these articles indefinitely we may assume, he thinks, that the market is to continue, and the question as to whether we are to continue selling our products in that market depends largely on ourselves.

Mr. Austin points out that to turn the natural products of the fields, forests and mines into marketable form and to transport them to that market requires invention, communication, transportation, finance and energy. Of all these it may be said that the United States has a greater supply than any other nation. It is to the invention of the steam-plough, the self-binder, the steam-thresher, the cotton-gin, and numerous devices for performing by machinery that which was formerly accomplished by hand labor, that our agriculturists have brought themselves to the foremost place. The activity of the American inventor is shown by the fact that the number of patents issued in the United States since 1870 is half as great as those issued in all the rest of the world during that period. Power

of communication is another factor of equal importance, and in this the United States leads. We have more miles of railway than all of Europe put together, six times as many miles as any other country, and two-fifths of the mileage of the world. We have twice as many miles of telegraph as any other country. In the number of telephone messages sent the United States surpasses the total for all Europe combined. Of post-offices we have twice as many as any other country; the number of pieces of mail handled in the United States is greater than in all Continental Europe, while of newspapers we have twice as many as any other country, and more than one-third those of the entire world. In transportation we easily lead. In river and lake transportation by steam vessels our facilities are far greater than those of any other country; and our freight rates have been steadily lowered until they are now about one-third those of 1870, and lower than in any other country.

The population of the United States is formed of a combination of selected energy from the whole world. The energy and determination which prompted the early settlers of America to leave their firesides and friends in Europe and to overcome the hardships and dangers of establishing homes for themselves in the new world surely mark them as above the average in the possession of this characteristic; and this is also true of a large share of the twenty millions who have come to us during the past century. Not only have they made valuable citizens, but their intermingled blood flows in the veins of a large share of the present population and with it an energy which, guided and vitalized by the work of our educational system, must tell for the future prosperity of the country.

Mr. Austin thinks that neither past experience nor a knowledge of the situation would justify the belief that our products are to be excluded from foreign markets by European combinations against the United States.

The United States produces one-fifth the wheat, one-half the meat, which enter into international commerce, three-fourths of its corn, and three-fourths of its cotton. Of all these Europe must import large quantities. The effect of a refusal by Europe to purchase our wheat or corn, meat or cotton, would be the exclusion from the world's principal markets of three-fifths of its present importation of wheat, one-half of its importation of meats, three-quarters of its importation of cotton, and nearly all of its present importation of corn.

Mr. Austin ends his interesting analysis with the conclusion that a country which produces more of all the great requirements of man than any other country, which has unlimited power to transform the natural products into condition for consumption and to transport them to market, and which has a market whose requirements are constantly increasing, would appear justly to anticipate a continuance of prosperity.

United States Comptroller William B. Ridgeley, in his annual report of a year ago says:

"The banking power of the world in 1890, that is, capital, surplus, profits, notes issued and deposits as stated by the late L. G. Mulhall, was £3,197,000,000 divided as follows:

|  |                |
|--|----------------|
| United Kingdom . . . . .   | £910,000,000   |
| Continental Europe . . . . .                                       | 1,037,500,000  |
| Australia, Canada, Cape Colony,<br>Argentina and Uruguay . . . . . | 220,000,000    |
| United States . . . . .  | 1,030,000,000" |

From statistics published by the *London Chronicle* in June, 1902, and incorporating the most recent returns from the savings banks of the United Kingdom, the banking power of that country is shown to be £1,206,000,000, an increase of 32½% since 1890.

The capital, surplus, profits and circulation of all the banks in the United States are definitely known, and from the reports obtained from the Comptroller of the Currency,

national banks, state officials, and from the banks direct, deposits of over 77% of the banks in operation are obtainable. The deposits of the other 23% of the banks have been carefully estimated from data at command relative to the former, and give the aggregate banking power of the United States as £2,487,000,000, or an increase of over 100% since 1890, which is more than twice the banking power of the United Kingdom and nearly one-half the aggregate banking power of the world.

This proud position has been the direct result of the industry of the people, to which is attributable also the individual and collective wealth of the nation; and this prosperity has made possible the large advance in intellectual, philanthropic and benevolent enterprises for which the nation has become pre-eminent.

But even supposing that Mr. Austin's prognostications as above outlined are not to be realized in the future, it does not necessarily follow that the prosperity of the United States will be diminished. In his Rectorial Address above referred to, Mr. Carnegie says:

"It seems clear that the spread of manufactures will be so general that the leading nations will finally supply most of their principal wants, at least to a much greater extent than hitherto. It follows that the exchange of articles between nations—foreign commerce—is not to increase as rapidly as exchange of articles within nations,—home commerce . . . . The relative importance of the two markets is often lost sight of. The home market of America takes 96% of all manufactured articles, only 4% going to foreign markets. Even Britain's home market takes four-fifths of her manufactures, only one-fifth going abroad." . . . .

An illustration of the relation of production to home consumption and foreign consumption is to be found in the report concerning the production of American locomotives in the year 1900. The number of American locomotives exported in that year was 525 against 161

ten years before. The value of these exports was \$5,500,000 in 1900, and \$1,250,000 in 1890; but it must not be supposed that these figures represent the increase in the production of locomotives, for in 1900 the number of locomotives constructed in the United States was 3,046, worth \$30,000,000, but only one-sixth of that number was exported, the other five-sixths being required on our railroads.

Again, to use an illustration the other way around, "One would think," says a recent writer, "from the statements of partly informed enthusiasts and by the multiplicity of American signs and advertisements in London that all Englishmen, their wives, their sons and their daughters, were wearing American shoes, whereas American goods really constitute less than 1% of the boots and shoes used in the United Kingdom. This 1% is a large trade, but it does not mean, as some people seem to believe, that the British manufacturer is being driven from the field, or that British plants are idle. The fact of the matter is that with the exception of agriculture and one or two minor industries, England's domestic and foreign trade was never larger, wages so high, work so plentiful, or, in fact, her entire people more generally prosperous than they are today."

"Happy country," says Mr. Carnegie, "whose steel builds railroads, ships and other structures in its own territory; it is not what is exported, but the amount produced that shows a country's condition, and what is not exported, but put to profitable use at home, is doubly profitable."

Forty or fifty years ago, Great Britain on account of her profitable home market was able to furnish the rest of the world with her manufactured articles at prices with which none of them could compete. This position the United States now in turn occupies towards Great Britain and other manufacturing countries, since it has the greatest and most profitable home market. That her home market

is likely to continue may be inferred from the probable increase in the population. There are today 78,000,000 of people in the American Union. During the last decade she has added 13,500,000 to her population. This decade she will add more than 15,000,000; Germany's population is 56,000,000 and she added 5,500,000 during the last decade; the increase of the United Kingdom was 3,000,000. It is a serious disadvantage to Britain in the contest that her home market cannot expand as rapidly as the American or even the German.

Of the other nations, Mr. Carnegie thinks that Russia must in the future hold a distinguished place; but it will be in the future. Though her production of iron has doubled in the last twelve years, of coal nearly tripled in the last twenty years, it is not likely that she will be able to do much more than supply her own chief wants, and these will be to a large extent additions to the present world's demands.

France will no doubt continue to occupy the position she now occupies and to furnish the world for a long time to come with those products which possess the artistic quality as their main attraction, and so long as her people remain so industrious, frugal and free from the vices of other lands,—gambling and drinking,—so long her position is secure. But it is not likely that in the race for commercial supremacy she will ever occupy a more prominent position than she now does.

While Canada is likely to advance in the not distant future, it is not likely that she will ever be able to compete with the United States so long as the latter, with its unequalled home market, is able to sell its surplus to Canada cheaper than Canada can possibly produce; and Australia, India, China, Japan and South Africa have as yet scarcely entered the race, even in the second place. While they will all no doubt increase the amount and value of their agricultural and manufactured products, it is not likely

that any of them will prove a serious competitor of the United States within a period for which prognostication can now be made.

If this be the correct point of view it is probable that in the contest of the future, England and Germany are the only two countries which the United States will need to consider in the race for supremacy. Germany has lately forged ahead, has already surpassed Great Britain in her production of steel, and promises to run her close to second place as a manufacturing nation. But her soil is relatively poor and it does not seem likely that she will ever be able to overcome the enormous lead which the United States already has over her in the race.

But besides the causes already enumerated, which tend to give the palm to America in the race for the world's supremacy, there are certain internal causes which are tending to handicap her greatest rival, Great Britain. Among these perhaps the most important are the drink habit, gambling and the want of proper education.

The agricultural situation in England is certainly gloomy. The country is able to create but a small portion of its food supply, depending largely upon the outside world. The condition of the agricultural laborer is a most hopeless one and the country is now largely deserted, 70% of the people living in large towns. The drink habit is a terrible curse to the country, one-fourth of the income of the working classes going for drink. Gambling in sports has become a national vice and is equally consuming, and the extent of it is surprising and appalling.

A special sub-committee of the technical education board of the London County Council has recently come to the conclusion that "various branches of industry have during the past twenty or thirty years been lost to Great Britain owing to the competition of foreign countries; that in many others her manufacturers have fallen seriously behind their foreign rivals; and that these losses are to be attributed



in no small degree to the superior scientific education provided in foreign countries." Reference is made specifically to the loss of chemical, optical and electrical industries; and the committee is convinced that the main causes of British failure in all these are the following: "(A) Lack of scientific training of the manufacturers themselves, and their consequent inability to recognize the importance of scientific assistance; (B) The defective condition of secondary education and the consequent lack of sufficiently prepared recruits for advanced technological training; (C) A lack of a sufficient supply of young men who have been trained, not only in scientific principles and method, but also in the application of science to particular industrial processes; (D) Lack of any institution providing advanced technological training which is sufficiently equipped and endowed to enable it to give adequate attention to post-graduate or advanced work."

The President of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, in an address given at Belfast in September, 1902, after deploring the loss of various chemical industries of Great Britain on account of German competition, and after a comparison of the relative condition of chemical industries in England and Germany, says, "Now, what is the explanation of this extraordinary and distressing phenomenon? I give it in a word, want of education! We had material in abundance when other nations had comparatively little; we had the people and the brains, for we originated the whole thing, but we did not possess the diffused education without which the ideas of men of genius cannot fructify beyond the limited scope of an individual." To his mind "the really appalling thing is not that the Germans have seized this or the other industry, or even that they have seized upon a dozen industries; it is that the German population has reached a point of general training and specialized equipment which it will take Great Britain two generations of hard and intelligently

directed educational work to attain. It is that Germany possesses a national weapon of precision which must give her an enormous national advantage in any and every contest depending on disciplined and methodized intellect."

The Moseley Commission in a report of its recent visit of investigation to the United States said, "The American manufacturer is distinguished from his English competitor by an almost feverish eagerness to obtain the latest improvements in machinery. He does not hesitate to put in the latest machinery at whatever cost, and from time to time sacrifices large sums by scrapping the old whenever improvements are brought out. As the introduction of labor-saving machinery is not used to cut down wages, such a policy meets with hearty co-operation from the workman; . . . every hand in the factory, man or boy, woman or child, is constantly striving to discover some improvement upon the existing régime, simply because it means profit to themselves. This is very different from the ordinary state of affairs in England."

In the appendix to the report of the Moseley Commission there is an interesting paper dealing with the causes that have contributed to the enormous expansion of manufacturing industries in the United States.

"The operation of the tariff apart, these causes may be assigned as follows:—

"1st, The enormous coal resources of the United States, coupled with the rich deposits of iron ore.

"2nd, The readiness of the manufacturer to adopt labor-saving devices.

"3rd, The largeness of scale, with its resultant economies, on which manufactures are carried out.

"4th, Similar economies (such as the use of heavier train loads) in internal transport.

"5th, The attitude of the workmen to labor-saving devices and the general questions of standardization of wages and methods of remuneration."

The lesson taught by England's experience has not, let us hope, been lost upon the United States. She has profited and will in the future still more profit by Germany's example, which England failed to heed. The great sums already devoted to education in this country can have no other meaning, and all signs indicate that the expenditures for this purpose in this country have only begun. "Prosperity," Bacon has said, "discovers our vices, adversity our virtues."

Whether we as a nation shall be able to endure prosperity or whether we shall succumb under the burden of our wealth; whether we shall be able to assimilate in the future, as we have done in the past, the large and ever increasing increment to our population by immigration from foreign shores, and make of it an integral and valuable asset for our own intellectual and industrial progress; whether our own people possess the virility in mind and body which will tend to material and intellectual advance in the years to come,—these and many other questions are problems for the future. Much depends upon whether we shall be able to preserve the moral qualities which characterized our forefathers.

But it must not be supposed that the supremacy which has already been achieved has been achieved by any deliberate purpose of ours. We have come into our inheritance through causes over which we had little control, by the operation of great economic laws which are as inexorable as the laws of nature, if indeed they may not be classed as such.

The certainty that the United States would supersede Great Britain has long been foreseen by thoughtful British statesmen. Conspicuous among these was Mr. Gladstone, who as early as 1878 expressed both his conviction as to the inevitableness of the change and his view as to the way in which it should be regarded by Great Britain. "It is America," he said, "who will wrest from us that

commercial primacy. We have no title. I have no inclination to murmur at the prospect. If she acquires it she will make the acquisition upon the right of the strongest; but in this instance the strongest means the best. She will probably become what we are now,—the head servant in the great household of the world, the employer of all employed because her service will be the most and ablest. We have no more title against her than Vienna, Genoa or Holland had against us."

"Nations, like men," to quote again from Mr. Hobson, "are apt to measure themselves and others by different standards. The prosperity of others is commonly attributed to adroitness or good luck, and our own to fidelity and virtue. Nations are slow to learn for themselves the lessons of history, and to recognize that laws which have worked inexorably in other cases work so in their own."

"Great economic and social forces," says John Morley, in his *Life of Cobden*, "flow with a tidal sweep over communities which are only half conscious of that which is befalling them. Wise statesmen are those who foresee what time is thus bringing and endeavor to shape institutions and to mould men's thoughts and purposes in accordance with the change that is silently surrounding them."

### ALGONQUIAN LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE—REPORT BY THE COMMITTEE OF PUBLICATION.

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It seems proper that at this meeting a short account should be given, however elementary, of the important steps forward in the study of the Algonquian language, a study to which this Society has so largely contributed since its formation.

The Committee of Publication were able to announce at the last meeting the completion of the printing of Trumbull's dictionary. We owe the publication of this important book to the cordial care of the United States Bureau of Ethnology. The late Major Powell, the accomplished head of that bureau, promised on its behalf to undertake the editing and printing of Trumbull's dictionary. He assigned the care of the work to our accomplished associate, Mr. Albert S. Gatschet. That gentleman fulfilled his duty with the most assiduous skill, and before Major Powell's lamented death, he had the pleasure of seeing most of the book in the proof-sheets. As the Committee has already reported, the printing was completed before our last meeting and its distribution among students has since been made. Mr. Trumbull's own manuscripts, carefully rebound, have been returned by the bureau to the Society Library.

This publication marks an era in the study of the Indian languages. The volume is the first, as may be hoped, in a series of bulletins contemplated by the act of the 27th of April, 1900. While we recognize the importance of the publications of the bureau in several years past, it will probably be fair to say that no work of equal importance to this has been printed since this Society published Mr. Gallatin's studies on the Indian languages nearly seventy years ago. At that time, men of the ability of Duponceau

and Pickering on this side the water, and the great German philologists of the last century, had discovered and recognized the importance of John Eliot's contributions to the study of language. There was a fashion perhaps, among ignorant people, of saying that his great translation of the Bible was a book of no use to mankind. But everybody who knew anything about it, was obliged to say that in his study of the tongue of our poor Natick Indians, he had unlocked the secrets of that extraordinary system of grammar which extends from the Arctic Ocean to Cape Horn. Of that grammar and of a sufficient number of the vocabularies of our tribes between the Atlantic and the Pacific, Mr. Gallatin had made a very comprehensive examination. Our Society had the honor of publishing his results. In his long career as Secretary of the Treasury, in days when secretaries had very little treasure, Mr. Gallatin availed himself of his official relations with the Indian tribes to collect a vast quantity of crude material. That material is arranged in the second volume of our transactions with comprehensive vocabularies, quite sufficient for scientific purposes.

It would seem that our publication of Mr. Gallatin's book first called attention to the great extent of the Algonquian Lenape language in Canada and the United States. It is possible that the insular position of the Iroquois—in New York—with a language which has not one word in common with the Algonquian spoken east, south and north of them had given the impression that our New England language had a limited range. But Gallatin at once recognized the similarity, not to say identity, of the languages of the northwest with those of Virginia, Pennsylvania and New England. The Algonquian language ranged so far to the southward that, as the Society will remember, our associate Judge Forbes reminded us that Manteo, one of Raleigh's Indians from Roanoke Island, could have talked with Capt. Smith's Powhatan and Edward Wins-

low's Massasoit, and probably did. Side by side with the work of Mayhew and the younger Cotton in New England, the Pennsylvania missionaries were studying the language of the Delawares. And, thanks to the work of Eliot and his helpers and to the work of Heckewelder and others to the south, the printed literature of the great Algonquian race is now much more full than that of any other Indian family.

The invaluable bibliography which Mr. Pilling has made for the Bureau of Ethnology, contains sixty pages of titles of printed books relating to it, and makes a volume of six hundred pages. And to that series the Trumbull dictionary now makes the most important addition.

The extent of a language which is still a living language—spoken by more than a hundred thousand people,—and the intelligent scholarship which has for two centuries been devoted to it, have led, in the last winter to a step forward of the greatest value, which your Committee are glad to announce. At the suggestion and advice of Dr. William Henry Holmes, the successor of Major Powell as Chief of the Bureau of Ethnology, Mr. William Jones—now connected with the great American Museum of Natural History of the City of New York—has been appointed by the Trustees of the Carnegie Institution to the duty of specially studying the Algonquian nations and their languages. Mr. Jones has been known as a devoted student in the line to which Mr. Trumbull, Mr. Pilling and Mr. Gatschet have done such honors. The Trustees of the Carnegie Fund, a few weeks since, appointed him with a commission which will enable him to visit the tribes in their homes, and to study their language, still living, in its living purity. So important an addition to our knowledge of the original language of Massachusetts is most gratifying to this Society.

Respectfully submitted,  
for the Committee of Publication,  
EDWARD E. HALE.

## THE ATTEMPTED SUICIDE OF A MASSACHUSETTS TOWN.

BY GEORGE H. HAYNES.

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THAT the same town which gave rise to an insurrection that threatened the very existence of this Commonwealth should later have made a series of deliberate attempts to commit suicide might at first seem to indicate remorse for early misdeeds. Such an outcome would satisfy the demands of poetic justice; unfortunately, however, it does not square well with the facts. Shays's Rebellion and these attempts at suicide are doubtless the most unique features in the history of Pelham, yet both owe their chief interest to the fact that they were symptomatic of influences which extended far beyond her borders; for, just as Shays's Rebellion, according to the present view, was a protest, turbulent and revolutionary, to be sure, yet against genuine grievances which were wide-spread, but which for various reasons became most burdensome in Hampshire County, so the explanation of Pelham's attempts at suicide is to be found in causes of municipal melancholia, familiar in scores of Massachusetts towns, but which became exceptionally acute in Pelham.

The impulse to self-destruction manifested itself first almost precisely fifty years ago. On the last day of January, 1854, a special town meeting was convened for purposes thus set forth in the warrant:

"2d To see if said Town is willing to give up and surrender her town Charter and become disfranchised as to all privileges and rights.

"3d To act on the subject of having said Town divided in any legal way and manner and having the parts annexed



to adjoining towns, and to use any legal means to accomplish the same."

At the meeting it was voted: "to surrender this Town's Charter according to the warrant calling this meeting. Seventy-three in favor (73). Thirty-six (36) against." To carry this action into effect committees were chosen to urge petitions already forwarded to the Legislature, to circulate petitions in Pelham, and to work up annexation sentiment in the adjoining towns. In Amherst, however, these advances met with a chilling reception. A special town meeting was called to determine the town's will, and by a vote of exactly two to one (168 : 84. 27 February, 1854.) it was "Resolved: as the sense of the Town of Amherst, that as at present advised, and in the present state of proceedings before the Legislature, on the petition of the town of Pelham for leave to surrender its Charter, and to be annexed to the adjoining towns, we are opposed to the surrender of its Charter, and to the annexation of any portion of its territory to the town of Amherst," and the town's representative in the General Court was forthwith instructed to oppose Pelham's petition.

In Pelham the annual town meeting was approaching. In view of Amherst's action it was decided to bring the matter up again, and an article was inserted in the warrant: "To see if the town will vote to rescind a vote . . . to surrender the Charter of the town." Excitement ran high, but when the town meeting day came (March 6, 1854), the attempt to rescind the previous action was defeated, and the town reasserted its determination to give up its corporate existence, not this time, however, by a vote of more than 2 : 1, but by the close vote of 87 : 84,—in a ballot which must have called out nearly every voter in town, for in the following year the population of Pelham was but 789. Making the ordinary computation of one voter for every five inhabitants the enrolment would have been 178;—there were 171 votes cast upon this question.

Two years later (January 28, 1856), another special meeting was called "To see if the town will Vote to surrender her Charter & be devided by the Legislature and set to the different Towns adjoining." Upon dividing the house on this question, the vote stood 73 : 36 *against* surrendering the charter. The smallness of the vote and the reversal of attitude are remarkable, in contrast with the votes of 1854. For almost a dozen years Pelham thereafter seems to have accepted life, without further protest; but in the early winter of 1867 a special town meeting again considered the proposal that the charter be surrendered. By a vote of 45 : 43 the project was defeated.

In 1870, however, the struggle was renewed with great determination. The principal article of the warrant for the March town meeting (March 15, 1870), was "To see if the town consent to surrender its Charter and divide its territory between the towns of Amherst, Prescott, Enfield and Belchertown as already petitioned for to the Legislature by the citizens of the town of Pelham, and also to designate lines of Division." The town's action is thus recorded:

"Voted: that we Surrender our Charter—86 in favor; 36 against."

"Voted: that we draw a line strait across from the North Northeast corner of Belchertown to the Northwest corner of Enfield, and merge all territory now belonging to Pelham in Belchertown or Enfield. And then, starting at the centre of the North line of Pelham, run parallel with the West line of said Pelham to the South line, merging all West of said line in the town of Amherst, and all East of said line in the town of Prescott."

A large committee was appointed to confer with representatives of Amherst, and another committee to attend any hearing upon the subject which might be given by the Legislature's Committee on Towns. Both Amherst and Prescott, in special town meetings, took vigorous action to oppose annexation.

Meantime the State Legislature was considering the problem. As early as February 5,—by what authority it is not apparent,—the Pelham selectmen had caused to be presented to the General Court a petition that Pelham might be divided and merged in the adjoining towns. This was referred to the Committee on Towns, to which, shortly after the March town meeting, there was referred also the remonstrance of certain citizens of Pelham, against the proposed division. Presently, on the recommendation of the Committee, both the House and the Senate voted to give the selectmen of Pelham leave to withdraw. But the matter was not ended without one more struggle. Pelham was at that time represented by a man who for fifteen years had been one of the most urgent advocates of the dissolution of the town. He therefore (May 5), prevailed upon the House to pass the following order: "That the Committee on the Judiciary inquire whether the town of Pelham has a legal existence, it having voted to surrender its charter." It was indeed an interesting question. Must a town live, in spite of its wish to die? A week later (May 12, 1870: House Doc., 373), upon the question "Whether Pelham has a legal existence?" the Committee returned the following report:

"That, in the opinion of the Committee, no Town can vote to surrender its charter or dissolve its corporate existence, without the consent of the legislature had and received. A town is the creature of the legislature, and has only the powers given it by statute, and among these is not the power of annulling its existence. Its general powers are to provide schools, maintain its highways, protect the lives and property of its citizens and support its paupers; its general duties are to furnish its part of the State tax, its quota of soldiers, &c., &c.; it is, in fact, an intermediate agent between the State government and the people. And as it is strictly limited to the powers conferred by statute, and as the town of Pelham has not the power of surrendering its charter without the consent of the legislature given it by statute, and as it clearly

cannot relieve itself of the obligations imposed upon it without such consent, the Committee are unanimously of the opinion that the town of Pelham has a legal existence, any of its votes to the contrary, notwithstanding."

Per order,

WM. COGSWELL.

It having been thus authoritatively decided that Pelham must needs live until the Legislature gives her leave to die, it remains to ask: what were the causes of these repeated attempts at self-destruction? Were the Pelhamites a disorderly rabble who wished to throw off the restraints of law? Or were they theoretical anarchists, resolved to make an end of government, in order that they might revert to that blissful "state of nature," in which each might be a law unto himself? In either of these cases, novel experiments might have been the result. Indeed, when these episodes were first called to my notice, there were put before my imagination scenes like these: Tommy, in the early fall, would ask: "Papa! Don't I have to go to school pretty soon?" and would be answered: "Oh! There won't be any more school here, for now we don't live in Pelham any more: but your mamma'll teach you how to read." Or Susan, after a tedious drive over from Packardville, would ask: "John, what in the name of goodness is the matter with the roads? Why don't your highway surveyors 'tend to their business." And John would reply: "We don't have highway surveyors any more. P'raps some of us will patch up the roads a little, by and by."

Unfortunately for the interest of this story, such scenes as these find not the slightest basis in fact. It is true that in the period of suspense some features of Pelham government were at loose ends, and her officials indulged in crazy bookkeeping. At the State House there is on file a curious letter from the town clerk of Pelham, dated January 29, 1873, in response to a request for the town

reports, to be filed in the state archives. In part it reads as follows:

"I doo not think our town affairs are in such shape or have ben for the years 1870 & 1 that a report could be made thay doo not Know how much thay are in debt much more than you do whare thay have borowed money thay keep no Account of it on book as can be found and ther is interest money cauled for that has not Ben paid for 3 or 4 years and in fact our present Board of Select-men New nothing about

Perhaps i am Saying to much But Such are the facts.

Yours Respectfully,

CLERK OF THE TOWN OF PELHAM, MASS."

But these men of Pelham never expected anything else than that they were to be citizens of *some* town. They had no wish to revolt against state authority, and until the question of dissolution and merger should be decided, they had not the faintest notion of suspending the regular functions of local government. On the very day following the vote of the House, refusing to grant the petition for the dissolution of the town, a regularly summoned town meeting was held, and the regular appropriations were voted, including \$1,000 for the maintenance of schools, and \$1,200 for highways; it was also voted "to raise \$500 for breaking and opening roads next winter, if needed to be expended"; and "to set up the Poor to the lowest bidder." It was still an open question, whether Pelham now had a legal existence, yet here her citizens were making provision for carrying on all the ordinary functions of local government.

The reasons for Pelham's strange action, then, are not to be found in any abnormal turbulence of disposition, nor in vapid theorizing as to government. The reasons were more prosaic, and better fitted to appeal to the sensitive "pocket nerve" of the descendants of those frugal

"North of Ireland Scotchmen," who by reason of Worcester's religious intolerance, had shaken the dust of that inhospitable town from their feet, and had settled upon the bleak Pelham hills. I say "on the bleak Pelham hills," for in those words is found the key to the whole situation. The influences which were at work in Pelham have been felt in scores of our Massachusetts hill towns, but *here* a combination of circumstances made them exceptionally burdensome.

Pelham is a small town, about six miles in length by three and one-half in width. Looked at from the west, it presents a long range of hills, for the most part covered with forests. From the level of Fort River, at the western boundary, in the course of about four and one-half miles, the traveler makes a steady climb of nearly nine hundred feet to Pelham Centre; from here to the east there is an abrupt descent of nearly nine hundred feet in about two miles, to the west branch of the Swift River; then the land rises rapidly to the East Pelham Hills, now in Prescott, parallel to the Pelham range, of about the same altitude, and but three miles distant from them. Such conditions make travel difficult. The land, too, is not of great fertility. As a result Pelham has always been sparsely settled. Three small hamlets have been built up, but there has never been a village of any considerable size. The old Conkey tavern, where Daniel Shays and his discontented neighbors hatched their insurrection, was built for a tavern on a spot from which not a single house was in sight; no one lived within half a mile of it, yet a still extant bill for liquors to supply the tavern's trade indicates that a lively custom was anticipated.

These straggling hill towns, capable of progressive development under the old order of things, have been hard hit by the industrial changes which the last seventy-five years have brought to Massachusetts. Indeed, Pelham's population reached its maximum in 1820, and since 1850 has

dwindled steadily until now it is barely a third of what it was eighty years ago.

PELHAM'S POPULATION.<sup>1</sup>

| Year. | Population.              | Year. | Population. |
|-------|--------------------------|-------|-------------|
| 1820  | 1278                     | 1875  | 633         |
| 1850  | 983 (U. S.; Mass., 872.) | 1880  | 614         |
| 1855  | 789                      | 1885  | 549         |
| 1860  | 748                      | 1890  | 486         |
| 1865  | 737                      | 1895  | 486         |
| 1870  | 673                      | 1900  | 462         |

In the half-decade, 1850 to 1855, this little town lost nearly a tenth of its population. (If the Federal census figures are trusted, the loss was fully a *fifth*!) It was in the year 1854, it will be remembered, that it was first voted to give up the town's charter. The later attempts to commit suicide, it is to be noted, also occurred during a decade, 1865 to 1875, when the falling off in population was portentous. The evolution which was then in process may have meant the "survival of the fittest," but it was *not in Pelham* that they continued to survive,—in 1855 no town in Hampshire County supported more paupers than did Pelham. Northampton, with a population seven or eight times as great, was burdened with precisely the same number (eleven); next came little Prescott, Pelham's neighbor to the eastward, with nine. The thinning numbers did not make the eight school districts any fewer, nor did it shorten the miles of straggling highway, which kept open communication with a few remote farmhouses. In the midst of such discouragements, and with such a gloomy outlook, it is not surprising that the Pelham citizen should have become a pessimist.

Pelham has never had a real focus. The oldest church and the post-office were located on almost the highest

<sup>1</sup>In 1822 Prescott was incorporated, being made up of parts of Pelham and New Salem; this accounts for quite a large loss in Pelham's population.

Note the variation between the Massachusetts and the Federal census returns for 1850.

land in town, at a distance of six miles from Amherst, which was destined to be the town's chief market. The best lands in town, as well as the most accessible, were in the valley of the Fort River, along the Amherst border. The residents of this section of the town early saw that their natural affiliations were with Amherst, not with Pelham. As early as 1807 two men living in the southwest corner of the town had petitioned to be set off from Pelham and annexed to Amherst, but it was voted to "pass" that article in the warrant. But the farmers of that district felt it to be a great hardship that they should have to support church services at Pelham Centre, which they could reach only by that weary climb of five or six miles, when close at hand lay the church at East street, in Amherst. Accordingly, in 1812, six of these men petitioned the General Court for leave "to be set off to Amherst for *parochial* purposes." But the parish had no notion to lose some of its most well-to-do members; it therefore voted not to set them off, and chose a committee to oppose their petition at Boston. This attempt came to nothing. But it was in this western strip of the town that the sentiment in favor of dissolution was always strong, for they wished to be merged with the more prosperous Amherst. Again and again both the town and the General Court were importuned that individual residents of this section might be set off. And, indeed, Amherst would doubtless have been glad to receive them. In the winter of 1854, after having opposed the petition for the surrender of Pelham's charter, in the Amherst town meeting it was voted: "To receive John Russell, if the Legislature will set him off from Pelham." Even after the final refusal of the Legislature to allow Pelham to go out of existence, in the very next year her representative,—and in all her history no other man ever served the town as an officer more often or more faithfully,—petitioned to be thus set off from Pelham; but in vain. Pelham was willing to blot her own



name off the map, but not to allow the farms of one or two of her residents to be merged with Amherst. Amherst, on the other hand, was willing to annex a few farms, but did not care to take with them six or eight square miles of sparsely settled country with all its charges for schools, roads, etc. As a Pelham man put it, "Amherst was willing to take the meat, provided not too much bone was thrown in, while Pelham did not care to see herself left with all bone!"

Opposition to the surrender of the charter grew as one climbed the hill and got nearer the church, the post-office, and the old meeting-house, which for more than 160 years has been the centre of the town's political life. During one of the movements in favor of the surrender of the charter, petitions were circulated for signatures in its favor. A young man of West Pelham was making the rounds with one of these, and called at a house near Pelham Centre. The man of the house was not at home; his wife listened with evident impatience to the statement of the caller's errand. When asked if she wished to sign, she snapped out: "I'd sign quick enough, if it was to keep things as they are! If the charter is given up, will there be any post-office here?" The reply was evasive, and, as the woman's spirit was evidently rising, her caller started to withdraw, with the conventional and pacificatory remark: "This is an unusually fine day for this season of the year!" "Yes!" was the rejoinder, "We do sometimes have fine days up here, as well as all in Amherst!" To the invitation to sign this same petition one of this woman's neighbors replied: "By ——! I guess I won't sign, but the old town's got to go to hell, anyhow!"

This gloomy prophecy has not been fulfilled, yet the conditions which prompted it were obvious. In the transformations which were coming over New England, Pelham's population had inevitably to dwindle. He who drives over her hills today sees almost as many fire-scarred chim-

neys as houses; here and there an old garden rose or lilac, blossoming by the wayside, is the sole surviving trace of a vanished homestead. The varied industries which found here a favorable location in the early part of the 19th century have disappeared, and the little water-powers are for the most part unused. There is but one manufacturing enterprise in the town,—a fishing-rod factory,—and this is near the Amherst line. The old Pelham family names figure now on the tomb-stones in her *eleven* cemeteries,—not on the voting list: *there* they have been replaced by those of new-comers,—men who are nomads in spirit, who virtually “camp” in Pelham, until some less unattractive opportunity for earning a scanty livelihood presents itself; then they “move on.”

Yet indications are not lacking that Pelham's nadir is well passed. The process of readjustment has been painful and depressing; but Pelham is working out her own salvation, if with fear and trembling yet also with intelligence and with a lively hope. While contemptuous Amherst is deeply in debt, having almost reached the legal limit, frugal Pelham is not only out of debt, but has a surplus at interest. Only four schools are now kept open, in place of eight, but the school buildings are neatly painted, and in good repair. The State aids in paying a part of the salaries of experienced teachers of good grade, and high school opportunities are available in Amherst. Indeed, of the sum,—approximately \$1,500,—annually expended for schools in Pelham, only about forty-five per cent. is raised by local taxation; the rest is furnished by the State. The churches and the ancient meeting-house look well cared for. Post-boxes for rural free delivery are scattered along the highway all up the weary climb to Pelham centre, linking her people more closely to the outer world. The State Highway Commission has put in a section of excellent gravel road. Finally, an electric railway, with all its civilizing and transforming powers, has invaded

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Pelham's borders, has begun to climb her discouraging hill, and already aspires to work its way across Pelham and Prescott to the larger towns beyond. With the State's aid in education and with the replacing of isolation by ready accessibility through free delivery and rapid transit, Pelham finds life better worth living. It will be strange indeed if, in this day of awakening delight in the beauties of nature, the attractions of her wind-swept hills with their splendid views, of her picturesque valleys and clear streams remain undiscovered and unappreciated. Pelham is becoming adjusted and reconciled to the new life, and her persistent attempts to commit suicide have already become an almost forgotten episode.

## CERTAIN GREAT MONUMENTS.

BY JAMES F. HUNNEWELL.

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IN the history of the most civilized portions of the world during the past twenty centuries, three growths and diffusions are especially noticeable—those of the Latin language with the institutions accompanying it, in times now ancient; those of the English language and institutions in recent times; and, midway between the two, the rise and spread of the Pointed style of architecture.

Mediaeval, and a creation or a development in western Europe, with its greatest results there, it might, at first thought, seem that this style has nothing expressive of our country and people, and yet, if we look for something that is a monumental and enduring expression of the origin and growth of the present and coming American people—a blending of many races—we could hardly find another as distinctive and pre-eminent expression of thought and character shared by all, or nearly all, of these races, as is the Pointed style.<sup>1</sup>

Our country long ago ceased to be a group of British colonies, and then, numerically to a large extent, of their descendants, or of people having the same origin. There is scarcely a race of western Europe which is not now represented among us, and is not now, and in cases to a large extent, mingling with us. Of all these races the Pointed style was an expression in common. For that reason consideration

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<sup>1</sup> The style often called Gothic, as stated by Mr. Ferguson ("Handbook of Architecture," p. 660,) "the pointed architecture . . . became the style . . . of all Europe during the Middle Ages; and is, *par excellence* the Gothic style of Europe."

of it really belongs among early American subjects, and it includes, also, consideration of some of the greatest demonstrations of human genius and exaltation.

As is apt to be in regard to origins, there are differences of opinion about the origin of the style; these we need not attempt to consider here. We simply observe that in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries a great conception in art grew rapidly, so that within the next two hundred years it was shown by works such as the world had never before known, such as it never has surpassed, inspired by thought and feeling that spread through Christendom, works with features in common, but with expression varied by the varied races producing them.

At the period when this style was developed, all these European races, now represented among us, held one religious faith controlled by one central power. In this style produced by that faith and the wonderful genius at its service were some of the grandest, the most beautiful of human works—civil and ecclesiastical, but pre-eminent, the churches. In art, their conception, size, majesty, beauty, are amazing, and so also is their geographical diffusion. The creations of Greek art, and their remains, are widely spread, and often in places now remote and lonely, but yet they are within a comparatively limited area; the Roman, in classic styles, were far more widely spread, yet still within a hardly wider area than are the works in the Pointed style.

In the mother country of most of us, indeed, to a large extent, of our nation, the style, at home there, spread to every part. The churches had the general European features of orientation, cross-form with nave, transepts and choir—found in almost every place to which the style spread, but they had also treatment native in Britain—great length, moderate internal height, long choirs, small western portals, and, unlike most churches on the Continent, they were, with scant exceptions, placed in beautiful

open grassy or wooded grounds. There is a charm about them that scarcely exists in any other buildings.

The French had an active and important part in our early history, at one time attempting domination in North America; their race is still notable at the South, and is now coming to us in appreciable number from the North. In the old realm of that race the style had wonderful development, and its own characteristics of the general features. The churches had, internally, great height, moderate length, and a complicated and often superb apse; clerestory and apse became great walls of rich tracery and gorgeous glass; west portals were often immense triumphal arches. Generally, they stood directly in the streets, or on the market-place, of the town or city. They had stateliness of form and regal wealth of decoration.

The mighty German race is in our land multiplying in number and influence. Throughout their father-land were works in the style, and, in places, on a colossal scale. Lofty windows, soaring spires, marvels of geometric design, or carved altars, marked them. Unrivalled stand the five great Germanic masterpieces, at Cologne, Vienna, Strasbourg, Ulm and Freiburg.

The Spaniards have given and left names for many a place in our country, and in it, also, are not a few people descended from them. Far and wide over their great home peninsula are grand examples of the Pointed style worthy of a race that ruled much of Christendom.

Italians, from the first voyage of Columbus to the last steamer from Naples, have come to America; they have transformed an old historic part of Boston. The mediæval Italians did not to a great extent adopt the Pointed style, but they did in the North fashion the immense Duomo in Milan with its marvellous lacework of parapet and pinnacle, and in the South, by their own inventive genius, shape the arches and walls, as of gold and jewels, resplendent in the Capella Palatina at Palermo.

Far north, at an opposite extreme of Europe, the Scandinavians, whose descendants are now almost as numerous here as there, reared churches in the Pointed style still wonders and treasures. And thus it is with each minor people or country of western Europe: in all, the Pointed style; from all, representatives mingling with our people.

No paper, only a volume, can adequately describe their monuments; here can only be mentioned the grandeur and beauty, the unique and priceless value, and the wide extent of their works, and note, also, the wisdom and pious care that is preserving, reviving and completing them. Of the great number that may be called central, I can say nothing in a paper no longer than this. Let me simply remark on what there is today at points along the outer circumference of the lands of the Pointed style—a circuit that gives an impressive realization of its diffusion through countries and peoples, of the widely reaching creative genius of a great age, and of the faith by which that genius was inspired.

It has been one of the delights of my life to visit, and make notes on all the great mediæval works I mention, and many more, as they stand where their builders reared them, and to observe the careful and costly labors to preserve every one of them, and realize that as the Middle Age was mighty in conception and accomplishment, so the latter days are noble in appreciation. To give evidence, let me briefly sketch the monuments of the style and of the races found along the circuit that shows how widely spread both of them were.

The Pointed style, as already said, did not prevail to the south as it did to the north of the Alps; nevertheless, we find it in Lombardy, as has also been mentioned, amazingly developed in the marble glory at Milan; in Sicily, in the vast and gorgeous, mosaic-robed aisles at Monreale, and in the noble simplicity of the historic interiors of the Frari, and Santi Giovanni e Paolo at Venice—three extremes of Italy.

South of the Pyrenees the style spread throughout the land—to its grand monument, the Cathedral at Seville, with its vast interior made dim and solemn by windows that do not concentrate the light as they do in the colder or duller North, but that veil the fierce rays of the Andalusian sun.

To the west, by the shores of the Atlantic, are Bayonne, Bordeaux, Quimper and more, each with its Pointed cathedral; and above the broad sands where Brittany and Normandy now mingle, on the towering rock of Mont St. Michel, still strong and noble, rise the mighty walls and the richly carved pinnacles of the abbey, with the stately halls in the great edifice well called the Marvel—now an almost unique Historical Monument of France, and of the Pointed style.

To the far southwest of Europe it also reached. In the Imperial city, long, and not very long ago, bulwark of Christendom against Mohammedanism, stand the spacious “dim, religious aisles,” and the lofty, almost peerless, spire of St. Stephen’s, Vienna. Again, far north and eastward from it, in the old capital of the Poles, on a hill, above the life beneath, we find the cathedral of Cracow, last resting-place of departed rulers, partly Renaissance, but at core Pointed, freshened and completed by work of today, showing how the style spread there. A long way north of this, also in a distant Polish city, we find still another example, smaller, in a cross street, but no slight proof of the diffusion of the style—the cathedral of Warsaw.

Passing Roskilde, also with its Pointed cathedral amid the beautiful prairie-like fields of Denmark, carefully restored, and now, as since it was built, one of the noblest of human works in that country, passing also the great brick Pointed churches of the Hanse-towns, we go some hundreds of miles east of north to the rocky and forested hills of Scandinavia, and find at Upsala a large example



of the style, spacious, simple, noble in design, shrine of the old regalia of Sweden.

Now go on to three more examples, that in place and form are nothing less than astonishing. On the green shores of a fiord within three degrees of the Arctic Circle, is Norway's masterpiece of art and of the Pointed style, the surprising, the marvellous cathedral of Trondjheim. Built in the Middle Ages, standing through the wear and tear of time and man, partly wrecked, it has been, within the last few years, made fair as ever—fairer, may be. Built by the Viking race, it stands in fresh beauty given by their descendants—those bright, tough, hard-handed, hard-headed Yankees of the North, whose kin abound in our land also. Rich as we are, matchless among mankind, we have nothing to surpass it. Even to those who know the richness of Continental Mediæval Art it is a marvel.

Go in a different direction to the distant North, reach the northern shores of the mainland of Scotland, cross the rough waters of Pentland Frith to Orkney, and at Kirkwall see the cathedral. The older parts are round arched, but its later are pointed, and it can fairly be in this list of Mediæval works. Read the words in Mr. Billings's magnificent and accurate "*Antiquities of Scotland*": "Among all the architectural glories of the Middle Ages, there is scarcely any other that presents so startling a type of the capacity of the Church of Rome to carry the symbols of its power, its wealth and its high culture into distant regions, as this Cathedral edifice, built in the twelfth century, in one of the most remote dependencies of a small and secluded European power. After having stood for nearly seven hundred years, it still remains pre-eminent, both in dignity and beauty, over all the architectural productions, which the progress of civilization and science has reared around it . . . matched but by a very few of the ecclesiastical edifices of our great cities, and those few are also ancient. Even as when it first reared its head among

the fishermen's huts, it still frowns broad and dark over the surrounding houses of the old Burgh of Kirkwall," and, "though dedicated to another worship, still to the honor of those who dwell around it, and of their forefathers, stands entire." And, let me add—honor indeed to the fishermen of Orkney, and to their fellow-men around them through centuries, for their intelligence and their genuine piety and patriotism, they did not desecrate and destroy a masterpiece of inspired art dedicated to God's glory by their fathers. Long and high, with a central tower, built mostly of dark red sandstone, simple and noble, stands St. Magnus, a triumph, in youth and in age.

Words similar to those used by Mr. Billings at Kirkwall might well be used at the last place that will be mentioned in this wide circuit; indeed, the words might be made stronger, for they would describe a larger, a richer, and not less surprising, and even secluded work. Traversing for many a mile the large, bleak hills of extreme southwestern Wales, across a lonely country, you at length reach a village, in it not a sign of human work greater than its small, plain houses. But pass through it to the brow of a steep declivity, and, nestled beneath, you see a cathedral such as only the Middle Ages could conceive and build—St. David's. Here again there is a great deal of round arched work, but enough also of pointed to allow it to be named in the present list. Ruin impended, but repair and renewal, absolutely required, have made it once more strong and noble. In almost utter loneliness, far from the busy world, it stands a monumental outpost of the faith and art once prevalent through the races that have peopled our land.

Through Britain, between these wide extremes—Orkney to St. Bride's Bay—and especially in England, are hundreds of buildings in the Pointed style; indeed we might as well think of England without her language as without them. We might also say as much of France or Germany,

and even other lands. Attractive, important and many as they are, we can here only again note their existence and wide diffusion.

Existing Americans tracing descent from almost any European people or place west of Russia, will trace back to where the Pointed style was a monument of the faith, the art and the history of their ancestors. There are few members of this Society who do not trace their lineage back to Old England, and every one of them who does so trace, will probably find the clue leading in some way to a church, and that church will be found to be partly, or wholly, in the Pointed style.

## ANDREW HASWELL GREEN—A SKETCH OF HIS ANCESTRY, LIFE AND WORK.

BY SAMUEL SWETT GREEN.

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THEMISTOCLES is quoted as saying: "I know how to raise a small and inconsiderable city to glory and greatness." Seth Low, Mayor of New York when Mr. Green was killed, in announcing his death to the Board of Aldermen wrote: "It may truthfully be said that to no one man who has labored in and for the city during the last fifty years is the city under greater and more lasting obligations than to Andrew H. Green. The city itself, in some of its most beautiful and enduring features, is the monument of his love; and the city may well cherish his honored name with the undying gratitude that is due to a citizen who has made it both a greater and a better city than it was."

Andrew Haswell Green was born on Green Hill in Worcester, Massachusetts, October 6, 1820. He was a son of William Elijah Green and his third wife, Julia Plimpton. The father was born on Green Hill in 1777 and died in his eighty-ninth year, in the room in which he was born. He was graduated from Brown University in 1798, studied law under Judge Edward Bangs of Worcester, became his partner and was afterwards connected in the practice of the law with Judge Bangs's son, Edward D. Bangs, for several years Secretary of State of Massachusetts. During the latter part of his life he withdrew from the practice of his profession and spent his time in the cultivation of his farm. He was, writes his son Andrew, "ever the genial companion of his children." He was married four times.

The only child by his first wife was William Nelson Green, who was Judge of the Police Court in Worcester, from its establishment in 1848 to the time of its abolition, twenty years after. The only child by the second wife was Lucy Merriam Green, who, with her younger sister Mary, kept a well-known and favorite school for young ladies, for many years, at No. 1 Fifth avenue, New York City. These ladies were very much indebted to Andrew H. Green. He always remained unmarried, and made his sisters' house his home while they conducted their school, and looked carefully after the business and financial interests of the institution.

The other nine children of William E. Green, besides William N. and Lucy, were the children of his third wife. The subject of this sketch was the fifth child by this wife, the seventh of his father's children and his third son. The child next older than Andrew was John Plimpton Green, a physician, who lived for five years in Whampoa, China, and afterwards for many years at Copiapo, Chile. The child next younger than Andrew was Samuel Fisk Green, a missionary doctor, who spent almost a quarter of a century in ministering personally to the wants of both the bodies and souls of the Tamil population of the island of Ceylon. After his return to Green Hill, he continued to translate medical treatises into the Tamil language until his death. Besides practising medicine in Ceylon he established there a medical school, whose pupils were very numerous.

The first of Andrew H. Green's ancestors to come to America was Thomas Green, who appears as a resident of the northern part of Malden, a portion of the town which is now included in Melrose and Wakefield, October 28, 1651. It is conjectured that he had been in the country for several years before that date. Very little is known about him personally, and Mr. Waters, the genealogist, who has looked out for information on the matter while

conducting other investigations in England, has not succeeded in finding from what portion of that country he emigrated. Andrew Green, giving the reins to his imagination, in some playful remarks which he made at the 150th anniversary of the foundation of the old Baptist Church in Greenville, a village in the town of Leicester, Massachusetts, thus speaks of a possible connection of his ancestor with Milton and Shakespeare: "To bring the best proof we have of kinship with them, which it must be admitted is not very conclusive, I may mention that Benjamin Green was one of the subscribing witnesses to that agreement by which, for five pounds, the great Milton, poet, statesman, scholar, transferred his immortal epic to the printer, Symons; and this further history affirms, that Thomas Green was a relative of, and fellow comedian with, William Shakespeare, and that Shakespeare's father possessed an estate known as Green Hill."

The grandson of Thomas Green, Captain Samuel Green, was one of the first settlers in Leicester and an original proprietor of lands in the neighboring town of Hardwick. He married a daughter of Lieutenant Phineas Upham, and so Andrew Green was descended from that progenitor of the American Uphams who was severely wounded in 1665 in the battle against the Narragansetts, during King Philip's War.

Captain Samuel Green was one of the principal men in Leicester, or Strawberry Hill, its early name. Just before taking his family to that town, about the year 1717, he left his only son Thomas at South Leicester (now known as Greenville), in charge of some cattle which had been driven from Malden. While there the boy, it is said, was attacked with fever and became very ill, a sore appearing. In his weak state he rested in a sort of cave made by a shelving rock in a little stream and secured food by milking a cow which he induced to come to him frequently by tying her calf to a tree near the cave. His father heard

of his illness, went to Leicester for him and took him home on horseback. It has been remarked that as Romulus and Remus were suckled by a wolf, so was Thomas Green suckled by a cow. It may be further remarked that had it not been for the nourishment afforded by that cow Thomas Green would have perished probably, and in that case there would have been no Andrew H. Green. I may also say, incidently, that in that contingency I should not be speaking to you today.

Of Thomas Green, Hiram C. Estes, D.D., said in 1888: "Dr. Green lived three lives and did the work of three men in one. He was a man of business, active, energetic and successful. . . . He was also a noted physician" . . . and "a preacher of the gospel, quite as eminent in this as in his other spheres of life." Besides having an extensive practice as a doctor, he is said to have had under him one hundred and twenty-three medical students. In speaking of the church building of the Baptist Society in Greenville, Dr. Estes, says: "it appears that Dr. Green was the principal proprietor of the house, that its grounds were given by him and its frame was raised and covered at his expense." Thomas Green was the pastor of the church which he founded, for almost thirty-five years, and while he was preaching on Sunday, says Andrew Green, "at his home across the way the pot was kept boiling to supply the needed sustenance to the little flock which came from all directions to attend upon his ministrations."

Dr. Thomas Green bought the homestead in Worcester which forms the nucleus of the extensive and beautifully situated estate on Green Hill, lately owned by Andrew H. Green. This is one of the finest gentlemen's places in that neighborhood. "The deed was given by 'Thomas Adams to Thomas Green of Leicester, for and in consideration of Three hundred and Thirty Pounds 6-8 by him paid,' and is dated 'the 28 day of May Anno Domini 1754'. . . . At his death," Aug. 19, 1773, "his estate

passing through the probate office was appraised at £4495 4s. 3½d., equivalent very nearly to \$22,476.76, an estate said to have been larger than any 'that had been entered at the probate office at Worcester previous to his death.' " Thomas Green bought this estate for his son, Dr. John Green, who went from Leicester to Worcester to live, and who was the first to bear the name and title which have been borne by distinguished physicians and surgeons in every generation of his descendants, his son, his grandson, in Worcester, his great-grandson and great-great-grandson, who are still living, but have their homes in St. Louis.

The estate, as has probably been surmised from what has already been said, has remained in the possession of members of Thomas Green's family since its purchase. Andrew Green, writing about the old house, says that: "It was not far from the city of Worcester, a plain wooden dwelling, two storied but low in the ceilings, of ample length and breadth, and anchored by a chimney of needless proportions. It stood on a by-road or lane, which was but little frequented. About the premises could be seen evidences of taste struggling for a more emphatic manifestation, but confined by imperative demands upon a limited treasury." With the deep interest which he always felt in his home and family he speaks of the homestead as having "associations which became dearer with the lapse of time, the very trees . . . embodying memories which greatly enhanced their value. The spacious garret," he says, was "a heterogeneous museum of relics, affording inexhaustible amusement"; and remarks that "the library" was "rather scant, but of standard works, elevating, refining and well read."

After Andrew H. Green became the owner of the place on Green Hill he made large purchases of adjoining land, and in time built a new house. Such, however, was his interest in his old home that instead of tearing down the



old house he cut it in two from side to side, and moving back the rear portion, put up a fine mansion between the front and the back of the old building, securing in the middle of the house large and high rooms on the lower floor and suites of apartments for himself and brothers and sisters above. Recently a spacious portico has been added to the old front of the house.

Mr. Andrew Green showed great anxiety about having the estate on Green Hill kept in the family. He consulted me again and again regarding its disposition. Finally he put into his will a provision by which it has been left to several nephews and nieces, representing three of his brothers, with power to sell, but with the expression of a hope that the property may be preserved as a gathering-place for the family, and especially for the descendants of his father.

I am informed by Oliver Bourn Green of Chicago, a younger brother of Andrew H. Green, that it is the desire and purpose of the heirs to carry out the latter's wishes and keep intact the house and at least about forty acres, known as the home lot.

The first Dr. John Green married for a second wife a daughter of General Timothy Ruggles of Hardwick. Andrew H. Green always felt an intense interest in the career of his great-grandfather Ruggles. He spent much time in making investigations regarding his life, and was proud of his descent from that distinguished lawyer, judge, statesman and soldier. He had a sketch of his life privately printed, and subsequently collected interesting material regarding it. Nothing would have gratified Mr. Green more than to have been allowed to place a commemorative tablet of Judge Ruggles in the County Court House in Worcester. But although the attainments and work of the latter amply justify such recognition, it would probably be hard to induce the proper authorities to do honor, in the way mentioned, to Massachusetts' great loyalist. We

have come to regard with generosity and tenderness the opponents of the United States in the Civil War, but still have hard hearts when we think of the men who took the side of the king in the Revolution.

Andrew H. Green's deep affection for his family and ancestors was shown in various other ways. He always carried his brothers and sisters and their children and grandchildren in his heart, and no one of them ever suffered for the lack of a home or the comforts of life. Mr. Green placed a mural bronze tablet in the interior of the church in Greenville in remembrance of its first pastor, Thomas Green. Had I given him encouragement to believe that it was fitting to single out one from the thousands of young men who did service in the Civil War for especial and lavish commemoration he would, I am sure, have engaged St. Gaudens, or another sculptor as distinguished, to have made a statue of his nephew, William Nelson Green, Junior, to be placed in an appropriate position in Worcester. Through his grandmother Mr. Green was descended from the Bournes of the Cape, from Governor Thomas Dudley of the colony of Massachusetts Bay, and from Rev. John Woodbridge, a brother of Benjamin Woodbridge, whose name stands first on the roll of graduates of Harvard College. He was also descended from the three Tillies and John Howland, passengers on the "Mayflower."

William Elijah Green, the father of Andrew H. Green, was very careful to have his children as well educated as his means would allow. The boy Andrew attended the common schools in Worcester, and was a studious scholar. His father could not send him to college, but during life he was a diligent reader and student of good books. There was some thought of having him enter the Military Academy at West Point, but this plan was given up.

It is not my purpose to give in detail a record of Mr. Green's life. That work has been done already. In the interests of accuracy, however, it seems best to make

considerable extracts from an account of his early life, which he dictated to a niece. The account is written in the third person.

"In 1835" Mr. Green, when a boy, "went with his sister Lucy by steamboat and stage to New York: was employed as errand boy in the store of Hinsdale and Atkins at \$50 a year and board; then as clerk with Lee, Savage & Co., wholesale cloth merchants and importers, where he was steadily advanced till reaching nearly the head position, when the firm failed in the mercantile embarrassments of 1837. After a severe illness and return to Green Hill for months of recuperation, he entered the employ of Wood, Johnston and Barritt, linen importers, in Exchange place; then he went to the firm of Simeon Draper, where he was kept up nearly all night arranging for sales. Through a friend of the family he met Mr. Burnley, who had interests in sugar plantations in Trinidad. Through Mr. Burnley he went, when twenty-one years old, to Trinidad, where for nearly a year he was engaged on the plantation owned by Mr. Burnley. While in Trinidad he became familiar with the cultivation of sugar-cane, the manufacture of sugar, molasses, etc., but seeing how crude were the methods used, tried without success to introduce improved processes. Realizing that advanced ideas would not be adopted, he determined to return to New York, where he entered the law office of" his relative, "Mr. John W. Mitchell." Soon after "he entered the law office of Samuel J. Tilden, whose political principles he shared, and with whom he sustained confidential and trusted relations throughout life. He was elected by the people Trustee of Schools in the Fourth Ward. Thereafter he was School Commissioner and member of the Board of Education, then was made President of the Board, it having forty-four members." Two years later, at the age of thirty-seven, in the year 1857, Mr. Green became a Commissioner of Central Park "and became Treasurer of the Board" of Commissioners, "President and Executive Officer of the Board, that is, Comptroller of the Park, for about ten years. He had complete supervision of the engineers, landscape architects, gardeners and the whole retinue of employes, sometimes comprising as many as three thousand men. The office of Comptroller of the

Park was created especially for Mr. Green, and on this account, that in the early year or two of the Park, there was constant friction with the then forming ring, and the Park Board were quite willing to leave the work to anyone who would attend to it. At that time Mr. Green was made President and Treasurer. As the Park was developed and grew in popularity, some member intimated that one man should not hold two offices. As the Legislature had authorized the Board to attach a salary to either of the two offices, the Board fixed the salary to the office of the Treasurer and elected Mr. Green Treasurer. Whereupon Mr. Green immediately declined to accept the office. He was elected President. The member who was elected Treasurer, with the salary, served for a few months without satisfaction. Upon this the office of Comptroller of the Park was created, with all the executive power of the Board united to those of the Treasurer, leaving to the President the power of presiding at the Board meetings. Mr. Green was elected Comptroller of the Park and continued as such for ten years, until the Tweed Charter of 1870 removed the members of the Board from office and turned the Park over to a department of the city government appointed by A. Oakey Hall, then Mayor. Mr. Green was appointed a member of the new board, but his associates were those with whom he had no relations whatever, and in 1872 he resigned."

Chancellor MacCracken, of New York University, in speaking of Mr. Green, said that "by his care for Central Park" he "was led to care for related enterprises, such as the Museum of Art, the Museum of Science and the Zoölogical Garden. He was constantly alive to the work of beautifying the city, whether by individual effort or as a member of one or another organization. A recent address at Faunce's Tavern declared that his thoughtfulness was 'woven into the structure and visible aspect of New York. Here we see it in a reserved acre of greensward; there in the curve of a graceful line, like the beautiful span of Washington Bridge, and somewhere else in a sweet sounding name, like Morningside.'"

Mr. Green had a rare combination of qualities to fit him to do the great work which he did in laying out and developing Central Park. He had an eye for the picturesque and beautiful, and a fondness and aptitude for the kind of practical service needed. He had too a passion for having everything done thoroughly.

The qualities which made his work at Central Park so remarkable and valuable caused him to be naturally thought of for similar positions. When the State of New York acquired the grounds on the American side of Niagara Falls Mr. Green was appointed a member of the original Board of Commissioners on the Niagara Reservation, and held the position by successive gubernatorial appointments until his death. For the greater portion of the time he was President of the Board. The care which has been taken of the grounds, the improvements which have been made and the comfort which visitors now find in visiting the Falls make everyone who goes to Niagara a willing witness to the efficiency of the work of the Commission and the value of its services.

In the sixteenth annual report of the Commissioners is the following passage: "The island between the mainland and Goat Island has been known as Bath Island. In honor of the Hon. Andrew H. Green, who has been a zealous and efficient member of the Board of Commissioners of the State Reservation at Niagara, since its establishment in 1883, and almost continuously the President of the Board, on November 16, 1898, the Commissioners by resolution changed the name of Bath Island to Green Island. As the island is a sloping green lawn, the name of Green Island is doubly appropriate." The frontispiece of the report is a portrait of Mr. Green standing in a picturesque scene of rocks, shrubs and trees and water churned into the froth of rapids.

Several years ago the State of New York established a Commission with the title, "Trustees of Scenic and His-

torical Places and Objects in the State of New York." The name of the Commission has twice been changed. It stands now, "American Scenic and Historic Preservation Society." Mr. Green was the founder and enthusiastic President of this organization from its start to the time of his death.

In 1865 when he was Comptroller of the Park, the Legislature imposed upon the Commissioners of Central Park the duty of laying out that portion of the island lying north of One Hundred and Fifty-fifth street.

Mr. Green's attitude regarding the civil service reforms was shown in a card which he communicated to the men who were working upon the improvements which have been spoken of.

"Men are employed by the Commissioners of the Park," it reads, "to work for their regular wages and for no other consideration whatever. The labor of each man employed, his compliance with the rules of the work, and civil behavior are all that will be required of him. No influence of any sort will be brought to bear upon the political opinions or actions of men employed.

ANDREW H. GREEN."

"Mr. Green," it has been said, "required the reading of this notice once a fortnight by the foreman to each gang of laborers, and had it posted on every tool-box used in the department."

It was while he was directing the work of laying out Central Park and upper New York that Mr. Green first called public attention, in a serious and deliberate manner, to the desirability of the union of the towns and cities, now popularly known as "Greater New York."

"Jan. 1, 1898," says Chancellor MacCracken, "the cities, towns and villages clustering about Manhattan Island were, together with that island, united into a great municipality entitled 'The City of New York.' Thirty years before that date this notable consummation was proposed by Andrew H. Green in a formal report made to the Board of Commission-

ers of the Central Park. . . . The movement resulted five years later, in the year 1873, in the annexation to New York of Morrisania, West Farms and Kingsbridge and to still further additions in the year 1895." Mr. Green presented to the Legislature of New York in 1890 a notable paper in advocacy of consolidation. When the question was put to a vote Nov. 6, 1894, "everyone of the four counties concerned voted 'yes.' The Commission to draft the charter was appointed by the State June 9, 1896, with Mr. Green as Chairman. . . . The Charter" as drafted, "became a law Nov. 4, 1897. The new City of New York began to exist Jan. 1, 1898. On the twenty-second of May, 1898, Mr. Green was invited by the City Legislature to accept congratulations for his work in the forming of the Greater New York. A thoughtful address was given by him." A gold medal was struck as a memorial and was presented to Mr. Green on the 6th of October, 1898. By general agreement also he has come to be known as the Father of Greater New York. The important share which Mr. Green took in this great work of consolidation showed conspicuously some of the controlling features of his character. In large undertakings, as well as small, he always sought, in the first place, to make himself master of all information to be had and when after careful study he had come to a conclusion, worked for the object to be sought with singleness of purpose, unremittingly and with tireless perseverance. In the present instance he made himself thoroughly acquainted with the history of the great cities of the world and the methods which had been successfully used in the conduct of their affairs. Having for his aim "the harmonization of rivalries and the equalization of burdens and privileges dating back to the very foundation of the City" of New York, he labored for the accomplishment of his object with "a persistency of purpose, born of experience, knowledge and courageous tenacity."

A word must be said about Mr. Green's connection with the foundation of the New York Public Library. He was one of the executors of the will of the late Samuel J. Tilden and one of the three original trustees appointed by him in his will to add to their number and establish a great free library in New York. It is well known that the bulk of Mr. Tilden's property went to relatives who contested the provisions of his will. A considerable sum was saved, however, through the wise action of the executors. Mr. Green did other work of especial value in connection with this matter. Before public attention was excited, and in anticipation of the fear of custodians of private institutions, he consulted me about a scheme which he had for bringing about a union of some of the great libraries of New York and in furtherance of that scheme quietly secured legislation which would make the union possible. The result of the movement thus started was the consolidation in 1895 of the Astor, Lenox and Tilden foundations in the formation of The New York Public Library, which through the assiduous and valuable labors of its well-known and accomplished librarian, Dr. John S. Billings, by means of subsequent consolidations and aided by a munificent gift from Mr. Carnegie and city appropriations, bids fair to become one of the most important institutions in New York.

Mr. Green first came conspicuously before the American people in consequence of his efficient labors in bringing to justice the members of the notorious Tweed ring, whose enormous frauds startled the country in the middle of 1871. In July of that year "certain so-called secret accounts were copied from the records of the City Comptroller" of New York, "by one of the clerks and were given to the public. . . . By this publication there grew up a general conviction that robberies had been committed against the city on a large scale." The Comptroller suspecting "that he was to be offered up by his accomplices



as a sacrifice to public suspicion . . . consented, in order to save himself, to permit" a person selected by the gentlemen who had undertaken to look into the matter "to be made Deputy Comptroller with complete command of the office in his stead." Mr. Green, as is well known, was made Deputy Comptroller. The result is described in the following paragraphs from a memorial address given at the request of the City of New York December 30, 1903, in the City Hall:—

"In Mr. Tilden's works, in an article which bears the title 'Figures That Could Not Lie,' is given an affidavit made by Mr. Tilden, to the effect that happening casually one day in the office of the Comptroller he was consulted by Mr. Andrew H. Green, Deputy Comptroller, and was requested by the said Green to make some investigations. The investigation was to be in the accounts of the Broadway National Bank. Mr. Tilden goes on to say that from these accounts and from the books of the Comptroller's office, he was enabled to trace into the pockets of Tweed and his fellow pirates two-thirds of about \$6,000,000 that had been paid out fraudulently on certain bills, chiefly for the Tweed court house in the City Hall Park. Mr. Tilden says: 'This information converted a strong suspicion into a mathematical certainty; it furnished judicial proof against the guilty parties.' . . . The work thus begun by Andrew H. Green was continued by him for five years, during which he was vested with the full power of the office. After the utterly loose and dishonest methods of his predecessors, he felt called to enforce in strictest fashion every possible measure against not only dishonest but even doubtful claims. He made enemies by this strictness, but the times justified the strictness."

An interesting example of the reputation which Mr. Green acquired for persistent thoroughness in the examination of accounts has been given me by his youngest brother, Martin Green of Green Hill. Upon retiring in 1876 from the office of Comptroller Andrew Green assumed the extensive responsibility of executor of the estate of William B.

Ogden, the railroad king of Chicago and New York. The latter was a great business man, but, I understand, left his affairs in a somewhat unsettled condition. The very day that Andrew H. Green accepted the position of executor, Mr. Martin Green informs me, one hundred and fifty suits against Mr. Ogden were withdrawn. It was recognized that all claims would be most carefully examined and their payment contested tooth and nail if they had elements of weakness or unfairness in them. But Mr. Richard Henry Greene justly remarks of Mr. Green that: "Although stern and uncompromising in the pursuit of his objects, his single-minded devotion to the public welfare," and he might have added his just spirit in the management of private affairs, "and his perfect candor made even the enemies of his measures forgive his attitude toward them." When he was appointed Deputy Comptroller the *New York Tribune* spoke of him as "incorruptible, inaccessible to partisan or personal considerations, immovable by threats or bribes, and honest by the very constitution of his own nature"; and as fitted for the position by "long experience in public affairs, strict sense of accountability, and thorough methods of doing business."

The caution of Mr. Green is shown by the fact that he always insisted as Comptroller upon frequent examinations of his accounts.

Those were troublous times in New York when Mr. Green acted as Comptroller. This is evident when we remember that, on the insistence of his friends, he was escorted in a hollow square of mounted police to and from his office, that his house was guarded by police at night, and the entrance to his office during the hours of business.

Had Samuel J. Tilden become President of the United States, Mr. Green would probably have been a member of his cabinet. "While the issue of the contest was yet in doubt, the Hon. William M. Evarts chanced to meet

Mr. Green on the street one day and said to him: 'If Tilden is elected President you will be Secretary of the Treasury; if Hayes is elected I am to be Secretary of State.' It was through Mr. Green's efforts, assisted by the Empire State Society of the Sons of the American Revolution, that the historic City Hall of old New York was preserved from destruction.

Much as he was interested in the erection of a suitable building for the New York Public Library he resisted earnestly the use of Bryant Park, one of the playgrounds of the people, as a site. Again and again he remonstrated, and generally successfully, against the use of Central Park for what he considered illegitimate purposes.

Mr. Green was one of the original trustees of the New York and Brooklyn Bridge. In 1890 the Legislature appointed him a Commissioner to locate and approve the plan of the great railroad bridge across the Hudson River, which is to unite Manhattan Island with the rest of the continent. The people elected him a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1894. He held from time to time other important public positions. Mr. Green was a member of the New York Historical Society, the New York Genealogical and Biographical Society, and many other societies devoted to geography, history, the fine arts, science and philanthropy. He became a member of the American Antiquarian Society in October, 1889, and at once showed his interest by sending \$50 to the Treasurer. He remembered the Society in his will by making a bequest of \$5,000. He also left \$5,000 to Clark University and \$1,000 to The Isabella Heimath, a home for the aged in New York.

Mr. Green was a man of vigorous constitution and able to turn off an immense amount of work. He was always abstemious in eating and never used wine, spirits or tobacco. When nearly eighty years old he underwent a very delicate operation without apparent loss of vigor, and when eighty-

two years of age was subjected to another important surgical operation without impairing his strength.

Mr. Green was, as has been remarked, a man of strict integrity. I have alluded to his trait of thoroughness in investigation and in practical action. He was as remarkable for his accuracy in thought, speech and composition. He was at great pains to adhere to the exact truth in every statement. He was a very kind-hearted man and readily touched. His affection for the members of his family was matched by the tenderness of his feelings and gentleness of his treatment with animals. His friend, Rev. Leighton Williams, said of him that, "his purity of thought and feeling displayed the nobility of his nature. No coarse expression marred his spoken or written word. . . . Of the hidden well of kindness within, the glance of his eye and the smile which played about it spoke eloquently." Mr. Williams says that: "Daily he read his Bible and often in the evenings loved to hear the hymns of his childhood said or sung." He had his doubts, but, apparently, refrained from entertaining them, fearing doubtless, as so many men do today, that if they begin to think much about religious matters they may become unsettled in their views and probably not lay new foundations for right living.

In politics, Mr. Green was always a democrat. He believed in and trusted the people, and was generally faithful to the creed of his party. But as regarded the subject of protection of American industries he stood with the late Mr. Randall and other Pennsylvania democrats. He was also a man who never hesitated to stand alone when he did not approve of the course of his party. Of Mr. Green's character Mr. Williams says: "He had the rugged strength of the Puritan stock from which he sprang, a character like the granite rock of the New England State from which he came. He greatly admired the men of the English Commonwealth, Cromwell and Milton, and his character grew to a dignity like theirs."

He was a man of unwearied diligence and indefatigable industry. Whenever he went to Worcester, he carried with him a satchel of papers to look over and sign in the cars. Another satchel would be sent to him from New York to examine and sign on the cars when returning. It is pre-eminently proper, using a much overworked word, to say of him that his life was strenuous.

Mr. Green was "clear of intellect, warm of heart, firm of purpose, vigorous in action." Had he no faults? He certainly had faults. Thus, he was imperious. He formed his opinions very carefully, held to them firmly and was without doubt often impatient of opposition. This quality interfered with the comfort of persons in public contact with him, made men fear him, and raised up many enemies. It should be remembered however that it was his strength of conviction and his persistence, after thorough investigation, united with ability and public spirit, which made him the great power that he was in affairs.

"Mr. Green was vain," you say. Perhaps so. His vanity was not of a petty kind, however. He was conscious of having done great things, perhaps exaggerated the importance of his own part in bringing about results, and was proud of what he had accomplished. But Mr. Green had much to be proud of.

"He was parsimonious," you say. He certainly spent very little on himself, and always discouraged luxurious living and waste. It was hard, too, for him to spend money, even for good objects. He had some of the traits that many men have whose means in early life have been contracted, and whose property has been acquired by the exercise of strict economy and not by inheritance or speculation. Mr. Green was not avaricious, however, not greedy to get rich rapidly, and he spent freely, although cautiously and carefully in his family. He was lavish, too, in the expenditure of valuable time, and doing an unlimited amount of unrequited hard work for the benefit of mankind.

While "every day was filled with a multiplicity of business affairs" . . . "he had time to think of others" always.

There is reason to believe that if Mr. Green had not been absorbed in business and public affairs he would have become a devotee of literature. He sometimes seemed to his acquaintances prosaic, but in reality read freely of the best literature and was very fond of poetry. He often quoted from the best authors. During the latter part of his life he exerted himself to awaken interest in a project for placing a statue of Milton in some prominent place in New York.

Andrew H. Green was killed November 13, 1903, by a crazy man, just as he was entering his house.

"Of that venerable man, dying on a highway which is the property of New York City, it may be said in a profound sense" it has been remarked, "in which it can hardly be said of any other man, that dying there, he died at home." The words of another eulogist, in speaking of Mr. Green's connection with New York: "Of him may it be said more than of the architect of St. Paul's, 'Would you see his monument? Look about you.'"

Rev. Leighton Williams, in an address at Mr. Green's funeral, aptly quotes, as descriptive of him, the words of the Roman poet: "A just man and firm of purpose; not the ardor of citizens demanding what is base, nor the countenance of the frowning dictator shakes his solid mind." He also quotes, as applicable to Mr. Green, words of the Roman historian Tacitus regarding his father-in-law, Agricola: "With admiration rather than with transient praise, we will adorn thy memory, and, if nature permit, with emulation also. This is the truest honor, this the sincerest praise. The form and figure of the mind would we embrace rather than that of the body; not that we would be careless or indifferent to images formed of bronze or marble, but as the features of men are mortal, so also are the images of them. The form of the mind alone is eternal, and this

is not to be expressed through an alien material or art, but only in likeness of character. Whatever in him we have loved, whatever we have admired, remains and will remain in the lives of men, in the eternity of times. While multitudes of men, as inglorious and ignoble, are lost in oblivion, his memory will endure, transmitted to the ages to come."

NOTE.

In preparing the foregoing paper I learned much from conversations with relatives and friends of the deceased, and drew largely from my own knowledge, obtained in familiar intercourse with Mr. Green for many years. I had before me, too, a typewritten copy of the address of Rev. Leighton Williams at the funeral of Mr. Green, belonging to Mrs. Samuel Fisk Green. Following are most of the important printed sources of information regarding Mr. Green:

"Official report of the presentation to Andrew Haswell Green of a gold medal," published by authority of the Historical and Memorial Committee of the Mayor's Committee on the Celebration of Municipal Consolidation, 1899.

"New York: The Second City of the World." The Republic Press of New York, 1898.

"Andrew Haswell Green: a Memorial Address given at the request of the City of New York," by Henry Mitchell MacCracken, December 30, 1903, in the City Hall. Published by the City of New York in the City Record, February 18, 1904.

"A genealogical sketch of the descendants of Thomas Green(e), of Malden, Mass." By Samuel S. Greene, Providence, R. I. Boston, Henry W. Dutton & Son, Printers, 1858.

"The Greenville Baptist Church in Leicester, Massachusetts. Exercises on the 150th anniversary of its formation, September 28, 1888." Worcester, C. F. Lawrence & Co., Printers, 195 Front street, 1889.

"The New York Genealogical and Biographical Record, April, 1904. Andrew Haswell Green." By Richard Henry Greene, A.M., LL.B. (with portrait).

Annual reports of the Commissioners of the State Reservation at Niagara; especially the 16th, published in Albany, by James B. Lyme, State Printer, 1900.

Annual reports of the Trustees of Scenic and Historic Places and Objects in the State of New York (3 in number), The Society for the Preservation of Scenic and Historic Places and Objects (2 in number),

and the American Scenic and Historic Preservation Society (from the 6th report, 1901, on).

"Life and letters of Samuel Fisk Green, M.D.," compiled by Ebenezer Cutler, D.D. Printed for family friends, 1891. (Introduction and at the end of the book, "Tamils Educated in Medicine by Dr. Samuel F. Green.")



## MYTHS AND SUPERSTITIONS OF THE OREGON INDIANS.

BY WILLIAM D. LYMAN.

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As an introductory note to the sketch herewith presented, I may properly refer to the sources of my authority.

The chief scientific students of these Indians have been Mr. Albert S. Gatschet and Dr. Franz Boas, both of the Smithsonian Institution. They have done an invaluable work, the former especially among the Modocs, and the latter among the Clatsops and Chinooks.

For general information about Indian life and especially "Tomanowas," I am chiefly indebted to Hon. Edwin Eells of Tacoma, agent at the Puyallup Agency for many years, and to Rev. Myron Eells of Twana, Wash., a missionary to the Indians.

H. S. Lyman of Astoria, Oregon, my brother, and author of a history of Oregon, has given me the results of his research among the Clatsops and other tribes on the lower Columbia.

Another most excellent authority was Mr. Silas Smith, now deceased, whose mother was an Indian, the daughter of old Chief Cobiway, the chief of the Clatsops at the time of the Lewis and Clarke Expedition.

The fine story of the rearing of the three great mountains came from an old Klickitat Indian named Wyanoshot, with whom I was well acquainted when a boy.

The Klickitat stories came mainly to me from Dr. G. P. Kuykendall, now of Pomeroy, Wash., formerly physician on the Yakima Reservation, and he had them directly from Indians. I have gathered much interesting infor-

mation from several intelligent Indians that I have known, Henry Sicade of Puyallup and "Charley Pitt" of the Warm Springs Agency being the chief ones. Hon. E. L. Smith, of Hood River, Oregon, is one of the most intelligent students of Indian life. Lee Morehouse of Pendleton, Oregon, has become famous as a photographer of Indian life and is one of the best authorities.

E. S. Curtis, of Seattle, is a photographer of Indian life and has perhaps the finest collection of such matter in existence.

One curious feature of these Indian myths may be noted as the habit of making "continuing" stories of them. That is, at their tepee fires, the Indians will vie with each other in taking up some already familiar tale and adding to it. Thus the stories become modified, and those of one tribe reappear in mangled and curious forms in others. The Indian that can best entertain his hearers at these "Gleeman bouts" of imagination is esteemed the best fellow, and hence they draw heavily on the imagination, which, in spite of a reputation for taciturnity and stoicism, is tremendously developed among the Indians.

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It may be understood that the term Oregon Indians applies to the tribes of the original Oregon territory, which included Oregon, Washington and Idaho, with part of Montana.

There is much that is interesting, romantic and pathetic, as well as sometimes repulsive, in the history and characteristics of the native races of the Columbia valley. Despoiled of their ancestral domain, deprived of their inherited methods of livelihood, rudely flung into a hopeless competition with a civilization which they could neither comprehend nor acquire, these poor people illustrate that unavailing human struggle with fate, which is and perhaps always will be one of the unsolved problems of a universe ruled, as we are taught to believe, by a beneficent and all-powerful

Creator. With so much to excite pity, the Indians have usually excited only hatred and repulsion in the minds of their white neighbors. Their peculiar ideas, instead of being sympathetically drawn from them, have been ruthlessly and unappreciatively crushed by the superior knowledge and arrogance of the white race. It is therefore not an easy matter to elicit information from the Indians on the peculiar fancies of their mythology and legends. By reason of these conditions there has been little true scientific study of Indian myths. Moreover, on account of the reticent and taciturn nature of the Indians, even sympathetic questioners will rarely get any full narration. And yet again the common myths of the Indians have become more or less mixed with the preconceptions of such white men as have heard and related them. Hence it is not an easy matter at the present time to relate these Indian tales in their native purity. In the series of stories which we shall undertake to give, while endeavoring to preserve them in their native form, we are obliged to confess that there is a certain element of white men's ideas interwoven with those of the Indians.

In order to present the clearest possible view of this curious and fascinating subject we shall treat it in four natural divisions. The first of these will be the myths relating to the supposed superior powers and to the spiritual nature of men; the second will deal with myths of the creation of the Indian tribes and their acquisition of fire and other agencies of life; the third will consist of those stories that account for the peculiar and beautiful features of some portions of the country; in the fourth division we shall speak of Indian myths of the hereafter and their ideas of joys and punishments in another life. Some of our tales will be found to belong to more than one of these natural divisions, as fire myths and creation myths frequently involve the effort to account for the physical features of the country.

First, then, what can we tell of the Indian Panthaion and their conception of their own unseen life? To begin with, it may be said that the Indians have multitudes of their gods, rank upon rank and order upon order, to a degree which reminds us almost of Hindoo or Egyptian mythology. There is nothing perhaps so remarkable as the differences among different peoples, except their resemblances. But the differences are superficial while the resemblances are fundamental. Hence we find that the Indian ideas of the gods are after all very much like those of other people in all their essential peculiarities. The Oregon Indians have more or less distinctly the idea of one great deity, who orders the universe and never commits himself to the sight of human creatures. This great supreme deity is commonly known as Sáhale, or Sochlah, very often with the word Tyee, meaning chief, attached. Many of the Indians however use the word Nekáhníe, or sometimes Kahníe, to signify this supreme deity. They think of him as dwelling in the heavens or in the mists and clouds of the lofty mountains.

While thus having a monotheistic idea to a certain extent, the Indians, like most other people, are polytheists in their belief in a multitude of lesser divinities, by which they suppose that they are constantly surrounded and which very often appear to them. In this respect their ideas are very similar to those of Greeks or Hindoos or our own Teutonic ancestors. These lesser deities, moreover, are of both beneficent and evil character. Generally speaking the useful and attractive animals and birds are the personifications of the good divinities, while the forces of nature, storm and thunder and cold, represent the malevolent gods. There is a perpetual struggle between these two classes of deities for control of the Indians, and hence the poor subjects of the controversy are in almost constant solicitude as to whether the good or the bad will get them.

Intimately connected with the idea of the gods is that of the man's own spiritual or unseen nature. And pretty nearly the whole of this phase of Indian philosophy or fancy, whichever we may call it, is embraced in the word "tomanowas," a great and portentous word to the Oregon Indian. It is as hard for a white man to get the full significance of this sacred Indian word as it would be for an Indian to grasp the full meaning of the sacrament of baptism. In general terms we may say the tomanowas signifies, first, the soul or inner self, and secondly, a system of magic by which one animal or person can get possession of the tomanowas of another, or by which proper propitiation can be made to the gods, and suffering and disease and calamity averted. Now the first part of this idea is not so far different from that of many great philosophers, even Plato himself. The Indian thinks of his tomanowas as being a certain inner and invisible essence which is the outgrowth of ideas and the unseen force of life. He thinks of every animal and even plant as possessing this inner self. As a natural conclusion from this, Indians have a conception a good deal like our present conception of hypnotism and telepathy, or like that of witchcraft or demoniacal possession, by which they suppose that one man or animal can get possession of the tomanowas, that is, of the mind or will of another. A great object therefore of Indian existence is to avoid being controlled by the tomanowas of some evil person or thing and in turn to be able themselves to control others. This is what they signify, therefore, by a tomanowas, or medicine, man; that is, a man who, by fastings and incantations and solitary musings, often accompanied with self-torture, gets into such a state of mind that he can recognize and control the tomanowas of others. He employs all kinds of magical performances to attain this end. The whole Indian system of treating disease is based on this same tomanowas idea. They suppose a sickness to be some kind of a bad tomanowas

that has got possession of the victim. This tomanowas must be cast out. Therefore the Indian doctor either feels with his hands or runs his lips all over the body of the afflicted person until he gets hold of what he supposes to be the demon. Then if he is strong enough he pulls it out and throws it or blows it away from the sick person, who then recovers. Some one relates seeing a tomanowas man practising among the Chinooks and having a very sick woman in charge. The tomanowas was so strong that although the doctor succeeded in pulling it out it held his hands up stiff in the air and he could by no means regain a natural posture until some other medicine men came and worked over him and at last freed him from the persistent demon.

The Oregon Indians also suppose that their shadows are a manifestation of their own tomanowas. Hence they are very fearful of having their shadow go into the fire or water, as they suppose that such an experience portends death by burning or drowning. Allied naturally with this is their fear of being photographed. They look upon cameras with great aversion, thinking them a device for controlling their tomanowas or spirit. Some worthy camera fiends therefore, who have innocently endeavored to preserve and perpetuate the costumes and lineaments of some wild Indian, have found themselves in very dangerous predicament, for some of these Indians would kill a picture taker, if they could, sooner than any other species of evil being. It is well therefore for the ardent disciple of the kodak to use considerable discretion in exercising its magic.

We have already mentioned the fact that the good animals and birds are thought by the Indians to be the form which the benevolent deities assume. They believe in a kind of incarnation of deities much like those of the Hindoos. In fact it will be seen throughout that the Indian ideas are not essentially different from those of

more highly educated and civilized people. The Indian idea is that there was a period prior to the existence of men when all the common animals talked and performed acts of a superior intelligence and were enormously larger and more intelligent than at present. They style that age the age of the "Watetash." Every animal was during that time a greater or less divinity, and some were evil and some were good. The most common of all the good animals was the coyote. He has three chief names according to the locality, Tallapus on the lower Columbia, Speelyi among the Indians of the Klickitat and Walla Walla countries, and Sinchaleep among the Spokanes. Of his many good deeds we shall give some instances later on. Then there was Yelth the raven, Speow the owl, Whiama the eagle, Iguanat the salmon, Okuno the crow, Icayim the grizzly, Kasait the robin, Iquoaquac the crane, Iqueskes the bluejay, Wawa the mosquito, Iquatselak the cougar, Moosmoos the elk, Mowitch the deer and Iquonequone the gull. It is not to be supposed however that these divinities were confined to the animal whose name they bear. They appeared at will in many other forms. It is proper to say that the Indian pronunciation in many of these names can scarcely be preserved in English spelling, inasmuch as they contain gutturals and other Indian sounds beyond the capacity of phonic expression in English.

We pass on naturally from this department of our subject to that which deals with the creation myths of the Indians. These myths are many, but two of them, one of the Chinooks and one of the Klickitats, will illustrate their general character.

The Klickitat legend of the origin of the Indian tribes takes us back to the time of the Watetash and to a monstrous beaver called Wishpoosh, which lived in the lakes at the head of the Yakima River. Instead of being a cluster of small lakes as at present, there was at that time one great lake. Wishpoosh was of monstrous size and

covered with scales which glittered like gold, while his eyes were like balls of fire. He had the vicious habit of eating all the fish and other animals in and around the lake, and even in many cases would gnaw up the trees and even rocks. Speelyi, the coyote god, the Zeus of the Klickitat mythology, perceiving that all nature was subject to the ravages of Wishpoosh, attacked him with fire and spear in the lake, but failed to kill him. The beaver in a fury of rage began to lash the shores of the lake until he finally tore down its walls and allowed it to pour down and flood what is now the Kittitas Valley, thus forming the upper portion of the Yakima River. For a long time the beaver remained in this Kittitas Lake, and then went to work upon the southern border and tore the bank out so as to let the waters down into the central portion of the Yakima Valley, where it was checked by a high ridge just below the present city of Yakima, which separates the waters of the Atahnum from those of the Toppenish. After the lapse of much time the still infuriated monster attacked the lower margin of the walls of this lake also, and tore out the peculiar gap now seen just below the mouth of the Atahnum. This caused the water of the lake to spread over the vast area now occupied by the Sunnyside, Prosser, Kennewick and Pasco countries. Here an enormous lake was formed extending nearly to the present site of Walla Walla. This was restrained for a long time by the Umatilla highland immediately below the mouth of the Walla Walla River. But even this lofty barrier was insufficient to withstand the onslaughts of Wishpoosh, and when it gave way the whole vast area extending to the present vicinity of Hood River on the eastern edge of the Cascade Mountains was covered with an inland sea. And now the last and greatest of the exploits of Wishpoosh was performed, for he clove asunder the Cascade Mountains themselves, and the accumulated waters went onward to the sea. Thus the great gorge of



the Columbia was formed and the river itself began to flow in its present channel.

And now it would seem as though the beaver god, having the whole Pacific Ocean in which to disport himself, would have had room enough and might have become quiet. But his mad rage still continued and he fell upon the whales and the other denizens of the ocean until Speelyi saw plainly that he must either kill him or abandon the entire creation to him. Therefore Speelyi went into the sea and after a dreadful combat killed Wishpoosh. The huge carcass was washed up upon the shore of Clatsop and lay along the beach hundreds of feet in length. Speelyi now went to work to cut up the voluminous remains of Wishpoosh and from it framed the various Indian tribes. Of the feet he made the Klickitats, great in running. Of the hands he fashioned the Cayuses, skilled with the bow. From the head were created the Nez Perces, great in oratory and wisdom. Of the stomach and abdomen he made the Chinooks, greedy and gluttonous. At last, finding an indiscriminate mass of bones, hair, gore and pollution lying around, Speelyi gathered this up and flung it up the Snake River and from it sprang the Shoshones and other tribes of the upper Snake.

The story just narrated comes, as has been said, from the Klickitats of Eastern Washington, but the Chinooks themselves have a very fitting addition to this legend to explain the Clatsop plains lying betwixt the mouth of the Columbia and Tillamook head. They say that before there were any men upon the earth Tallapus, which is the Chinook word for the Coyote god, once walking along the margin of the sea conceived the idea that a beautiful stretch of country might be fashioned there, and accordingly he picked up a handful of sand and cast it into the surf. At the same time he commanded the surf to be transformed into land. This took place strictly according to his instructions and from that result the beautiful Clatsop

plains were formed as a home for the men that were to come.

The other Indians of the Columbia basin have creation legends quite similar in a general way to these, though attributed to different beings. Among the Puget Sound Indians Yelth and Speow are credited with deeds very similar to those of Tallapus and Speelyi.

Among the most interesting of all Indian myths are those pertaining to the acquisition of fire, and the creation of light by means of the sun, moon and stars. The mythologies of all men dwell with horror upon the time of darkness. The acquisition of fire and of light has been one of the greatest features of all human conceptions of the supernatural. Beyond any other natural force, fire has been an instrument in human progress. There have been fires of all kinds, all the way from the camp-fire or fire upon the hearth up to the sacred fires of the vestals and of the Parsees, or from the fires of outbursting volcanoes to the fire that cannot be quenched. Closely allied with fire upon the earth are the fires in the heavens, the sun and stars. Like other people the Indians exercised their imagination in efforts to account for the presence and use of these indispensable agencies of human life.

The Yakima account of the manner in which Speelyi secured fire for men goes back, as many of these stories do, to the times of the animal people. This legend is that in those times, before there was any fire, the animal people suffered so much from cold that Speelyi gathered them together and asked them to make suggestions as to the manner in which to obtain fire from the sky, for they were satisfied that it existed there. They determined to shoot an arrow into the sky in the hope that it would catch the fire and drop back to the earth with it. Speelyi shot first, but the arrow fell back without the fire, evidently having failed to stick into the sky. After various unsuccessful attempts by various birds and animal people, the

beaver took his turn. His arrow stuck into the sky. Then he shot again and the second arrow pierced the first, and so he kept on shooting time after time, each arrow sticking into its predecessor until there was a long line of arrows reaching from the earth to the sky. Speelyi then asked which one of the animals would be willing to climb the arrow rope into the sky and bring down fire. Most of them were afraid, but at last the dog offered to make the dangerous attempt. He said he would climb up into the sky and seize the fire in his mouth and so return.

It was a long, long climb for the adventurous dog. When he reached the sky he could not at first get through, but at last he cut a hole in the sky and climbed through into the sky country. He found the country so attractive that he abandoned his mission and did not return at all. After waiting a long time for his return the beaver volunteered to undertake the important mission. He thought that when he reached the sky the sky people would see what a curious kind of an animal he was, so smooth and fat, and would then prepare him for a meal. Then, as he explained to the rest, they must be all ready to rush up the arrow rope into the sky and attack the sky people. Then he, in the confusion, would get a coal of fire and hide it under his finger nail and so bring it back to the earth. The programme went on beautifully according to the plans of the beaver. When he entered into the sky country through the hole which the dog had made, the sky people were very much astonished at his appearance and soon seized him with a view to preparing him for a meal. Just as they were about ready to eat him the rest of the animals from the earth suddenly appeared, swarming up the rod, and attacked the banqueting-place of the people in the sky. In the excitement of the mêlée the beaver came to life again, seized the fire, and rushed for the arrow rod, followed by his companions. Some of them got down all right, but the great weight broke the rod and a number

of them were precipitated to the earth. Among others, Speelyi himself caught a bad fall and was mashed out into the form of an ordinary coyote. Some of the animals fell into the water and became fish, while some stopped in the air and became birds. The beaver himself reached the earth in safety with the precious fire, and ever after there was fire on earth.

Even more picturesque is the account by the Indians of Puget Sound of the acquisition of fire through the agency of Yelth, the raven. In those times the grey eagle was the keeper of fire and the sun, as well as the fresh water. This grey eagle hated men, and kept all these in such a manner that men could not obtain them.

Now the eagle had a beautiful daughter, and the raven, who seems at that time not to have been a raven but a noble young man, went to court the daughter. But by the magic of his enemies, Yelth was transformed into a snow-white bird. In spite of this his wisdom and nobility were so great that the girl loved him. Yelth now being in the lodge of the eagle, discovered the sun and stars and fire and water, all hanging up on the sides of the lodge. Watching his opportunity he stole them all and flew out with them through the smoke hole of the tent. Having got outside he hung the sun up in the sky, and this made so much light that he found no difficulty in flying to an island in the middle of the ocean. But when the sun had set and darkness had come on, he strewed the stars around and fastened up the moon, and this made a new light. And now, having gotten under way again by this new light, he took the fresh water and the fire and continued on his course. Having reached a point above the land, he dropped the water, which, falling to the ground, became the source of all rivers and lakes. As he journeyed on with the fire the stick was meanwhile burning up, and the streaming smoke transformed his feathers from white to black. For that reason ravens

are black to this day. His bill became burned by the heat of the fire until he had to drop the fire brand, which, striking the rocks, went into them, so that now if one strikes two rocks together fire will drop out.

Perhaps the most perfect and beautiful of all Indian fire myths of the Columbia is that connected with the famous "tomanowas bridge" at the Cascades. This myth not only treats of fire, but it also endeavors to account for the peculiar formation of the river and for the great snow peaks in the near vicinity. This myth has various forms, and in order that it may be the better understood, we shall say a word with respect to the peculiar physical features in that part of the Columbia. This mighty river, after having traversed over a thousand miles from its source in the heart of the great Rocky Mountains of Canada, has cleft the Cascade range asunder with a cañon three thousand feet in depth. While generally very swift, that portion of the river between the Dalles and the Cascades, of about fifty miles, is very deep and sluggish. There are moreover sunken forests on both sides of the river visible at low water, which seem plainly to indicate that at that point the river was dammed up by some great rock slide or volcanic convulsion. Some of the Indians affirm that their grandfathers have told them there was a time when the river at that point passed under an immense natural bridge and that there were no obstructions to the passage of boats under the bridge. At the present time there is a cascade of forty feet at that point. This is now overcome by government locks, constructed seven years ago. Among other evidences of some such actual occurrence as the Indians relate is the fact that the banks of the river at that point are gradually sliding into the river. The prodigious volume of the Columbia, which here rises from fifty to seventy-five feet during the summer flood and which, as shown by government engineers, carries as much water as the Mississippi at New Orleans, is here continually

eating into the banks. The railroad has slid several inches a year at this point toward the river and requires frequent readjustment. It is obvious at a slight inspection that this weird and sublime point in the course of this majestic river has been the scene of terrific volcanic and probably seismic action. One Indian legend, probably the best known of all their stories, is to the effect that the downfall of the great bridge and consequent damming of the river was due to a great battle between Mt. Hood and Mt. Adams, in which Mt. Hood hurled a great rock at his antagonist, but falling short of the mark the rock demolished the bridge instead. This event has been made use of by Frederick Balch in his beautiful story, "The Bridge of the Gods," the finest story yet produced in Oregon.

But the finer, though less known legend, which unites both the physical conformation of the Cascades and the three great snow mountains of Hood, Adams and St. Helens, with the origin of fire, is to this effect.

According to the Klickitats there was once a father and two sons who came from the east down the Columbia to the vicinity of where Dalles city is now located, and there the two sons quarreled as to who should possess the land. The father, to settle the dispute, shot two arrows, one to the north and one to the west. He told one son to find the arrow to the north and the other the one at the west and there to settle and bring up their families. The first son, going northward, over what was then a beautiful plain, became the progenitor of the Klickitat tribe, while the other son was the founder of the great Multnomah nation of the Willamette Valley. To separate the two tribes more effectively Sahale reared the chain of the Cascades, though without any great peaks, and for a long time all things went in harmony. But for convenience' sake Sahale had created the great tomanowas bridge under which the waters of the Columbia flowed, and on this bridge he had stationed a witch woman called Loowit, who

was to take charge of the fire. This was the only fire in the world. As time passed on Loowit observed the deplorable condition of the Indians, destitute of fire and the conveniences which it might bring. She therefore besought Sahale to allow her to bestow fire upon the Indians. Sahale, having been greatly pleased by the faithfulness and benevolence of Loowit, finally granted her request. The lot of the Indians was wonderfully improved by the acquisition of fire. They now began to make better lodges and clothes and had a variety of food and implements and, in short, were marvellously benefited by the bounteous gift.

But Sahale, in order to show his appreciation of the care with which Loowit had guarded the sacred fire, now determined to offer her any gift she might desire as a reward. Accordingly, in response to his offer, Loowit asked that she be transformed into a young and beautiful girl. This was accordingly effected and now, as might have been expected, all the Indian chiefs fell deeply in love with the beautiful guardian of the tomanowas bridge. Loowit paid little heed to any of them until finally there came two magnificent chiefs, one from the north called Klickitat and one from the south called Wiyeast. Loowit was uncertain which of these two she most desired, and as a result a bitter strife arose between the two, and this waxed hotter and hotter, until finally, with their respective warriors, they entered upon a desperate war. The land was ravaged, all the beautiful things which they had made were marred, and misery and wretchedness ensued. Sahale repented that he had allowed Loowit to bestow fire upon the Indians, and determined to undo all his work in so far as he could. Accordingly he broke down the tomanowas bridge, which dammed up the river with an impassable reef and put to death Loowit, Klickitat and Wiyeast. But, he said, inasmuch as they had been so grand and beautiful in life, he would give them a fitting commemoration after death. Therefore he reared over them as monuments

the great snow peaks; over Loowit what we now call Mt. St. Helens, over Wiyeast the modern Mt. Hood, and above Klickitat the stupendous dome of what we now call Mt. Adams.

Such are some of the most characteristic of the fire legends of our Pacific Northwest Indians, legends which have their counterparts more or less in those of all people.

Closely connected with these tales of fire are those which deal with the struggles of the good deities against the bad on behalf of suffering men. 'As already indicated, the chief protecting divinities were the Coyote, under his various names, Yelth the raven, Speow the owl, Iguanat the salmon, and the bluejay, which, like all these gods, is known by a variety of names, Kiki being that used on the Sound. Speelyi, the great coyote god of the Klickitats and Yakimas, is credited with more performances in behalf of Indians than is any other deity. His benevolence was manifested in rescuing the Indians from Skookums and Cheatcos, as well as from the destructive gods of thunder and storm and wind.

As we have seen, Skamson, the thunder bird, and Tootah the thunder were a source of great terror to the Indians. The Yakimas have a legend of another thunder god whom they call Enumtla. Enumtla lived upon the summit of Mt. Adams, and whenever he winked, fire dropped from the clouds. Then he would roar with such fury that the hapless people scarcely dared to show themselves for fear of being struck down. Speelyi, discovering their pitiable condition, promised that he would take the strength out of the storm god.

Now there was one very curious thing about Speelyi, and that was that he had two sisters living in his stomach. It might be supposed that there would be anatomical difficulties connected with such a condition of affairs, but this was accounted for by the supposition that the sisters were in the form of "shotolallies," the Yakima word for



huckleberries. Speelyi would consult these sisters upon all important occasions and the odd thing about it was that whenever they advised him to do anything he would always say, "That is just what I was planning to do already." The huckleberry sisters now gave him suggestions as to how to overcome the power of Enumtla.

In pursuance of their directions Speelyi transformed himself into a feather and floated in the air to the near vicinity of the thunder god. The god, viewing the feather somewhat suspiciously, poured down a torrent of rain, but the magic feather remained untouched. Now the feather suddenly arose into the sky, and began to pour down rain and to flash lightning and roar out thunder. Very much amazed by this unlooked for force, Enumtla gathered all his thunderbolts and roared all his rage, and there took place between the two a desperate battle in mid-heaven. The contending gods made the earth fairly tremble with their struggle, and at last dropped to the earth in a deadly grapple, Speelyi on top. Speelyi now began to pull up trees for clubs and pound the fallen thunder god until he surrendered. Then Speelyi pronounced sentence upon him by directing that henceforth he should only occasionally be allowed to send forth his lightnings, and even then not to destroy human life. As a result of this there are at the present time few thunder-storms in the Columbia basin.

Of the miscellaneous myths which pertain to the forces of nature one of the best is that accounting for the Chinook wind. All people who have lived long in Oregon or Washington have a conception of that marvellous warm wind which in January and February suddenly sends them almost summer heat amid snow banks and ice-locked streams and causes all nature to rejoice as with a resurrection of springtime. Scarcely anything can be imagined in nature more picturesque and dramatic than this Chinook wind. The thermometer may be down nearly to zero, a foot of snow may rest like a pall on the earth, or a deadly

fog may wrap the earth in its cold embrace, when suddenly, as if by the breath of inspiration, the fog parts, the peaks of the mountains may be seen half stripped of snow, and then, roaring and whistling, the warm south wind comes like an army. The snow begins to drip like a pressed sponge, the thermometer goes with a jump to sixty, and within two hours we find ourselves in the climate of southern California. No wonder the Indians personified this wind. We personify it ourselves.

The Yakima account of the Chinook wind was to the effect that it was caused by five brothers who lived on the Columbia River, not far from the town now called Columbus. Now there is at rare intervals in this country a cold northeast wind, which the Indians on the Columbia call the Walla Walla wind because it comes from the northeast. Both these sets of brothers had grandparents who lived near what is now Umatilla. The two sets of brothers were continually fighting each other, sweeping one way or the other over the country, alternately freezing or thawing it, blowing down trees and causing the dust to fly in clouds, and rendering the country generally very uncomfortable for the people. Finally the Walla Walla brothers sent a challenge to the Chinook brothers to undertake a wrestling match, the condition being that those who were defeated should forfeit their lives. It was agreed that Speelyi should act as umpire and should inflict the penalty by decapitating the losers.

Speelyi secretly advised the grandparents of the Chinook brothers to throw oil on the wrestling ground so that their sons might not fall. In like manner he secretly advised the grandparents of the Walla Walla brothers to throw ice on the ground. Between the ice and the oil it was so slippery that it would be hard for anyone to keep upright, but inasmuch as the Walla Walla grandfather got ice on the ground last, the Chinook brothers were all thrown and killed.

Now the elder Chinook had an infant baby at home, whose mother brought him up with one sole purpose in view, and that was that he must avenge the death of his father and uncles. By continual practice in pulling up trees he became prodigiously strong, insomuch that he could pull up the largest fir trees and throw them about like weeds. The young man finally reached such a degree of strength that he felt that the time had come for him to perform his great mission. Therefore he went up the Columbia, pulling up trees and tossing them around in different places, and finally passed over into the valley of the Yakima, where he lay down to rest by the creek called the Setas. There he rested for a day and a night, and the marks of where he lay are still plainly visible on the mountain side.

Now, turning back again to the Columbia, he sought the hut of his grandparents, which, when he had found, he found also that they were in a most deplorable condition. The Walla Walla brothers had been having it all their own way during these years and had imposed most shamefully upon the old people. When he learned this the young Chinook told his grandfather to go out into the Columbia to fish for sturgeon, while he in the meantime would lie down in the bottom of the boat and watch for the Walla Walla wind. It was the habit of these tormenting Walla Walla wind brothers to wait until the old man had got his boat filled with fish, and then they, issuing swiftly and silently from the shore, would beset him and rob him. This time they started out from the shore as usual, but to their great astonishment, just as they were about to catch him, the boat would shoot on at miraculous speed and leave them far behind. So the old man landed safely and brought his fish to the hut. The young Chinook then took his grandparents to a stream and washed from them the filth which had gathered upon them during all those years of suffering. Strange to say the filth became trans-

formed into trout, and this is the origin of all the trout along the Columbia.

As soon as the news became known abroad that there was another Chinook champion in the field, the Walla Walla brothers began to demand a new wrestling match. Young Chinook very gladly accepted the challenge, though he had to meet all five. But now Speelyi secretly suggested to the Chinook grandfather that he should wait about throwing the oil on the ground until the ice had all been used up. By means of this change of practice, the Walla Walla brothers fell speedily, one after another, before the young Chinook. One after another was thrown and beheaded until only the youngest was left. His courage failing, he surrendered without a struggle. Speelyi then pronounced sentence upon him, telling him that he might live, but could henceforth only blow lightly, and never have power to freeze people to death. Speelyi also decreed that in order to keep Chinook within bounds he should blow the hardest at night time, and should blow upon the mountain ridges first in order to prepare people for his coming. Thus there came to be moderation in the winds, but Chinook was always a victor in the end. And thus at the present time in the perpetual flux and reflux of the oceans of the air, when the north wind sweeps down from the chilly zones of Canada upon the Columbia basin, his triumph is but transient. For within a few hours or days at most, while the cattle are threatened with destruction and while ranchers are gazing anxiously about, they will soon discern a blue black line in the southern horizon, in a short time the mountain ridges can be seen bare of snow, and deliverance is at hand. For the next morning, rushing and roaring from the south, comes the blessed Chinook, and the icy grip of the north melts as before a blast from a furnace. The struggle is short and Chinook's victory is sure.

Among the most interesting and beautiful of all Indian

stories, perhaps those connected with the great mountain peaks are first. As is fitting, the most striking are those whose scenes are laid in and around Mt. Rainier. (This great king-mountain, for all reasons of poetry and euphony, as well perhaps as history, ought to have the old Indian name of Tacoma, or Tahoma, but the plainer name of Rainier seems at the present time to be established geographically.)

By reason of the Indian superstitions in regard to the great peaks, the Indians can seldom be prevailed on to ascend their summits. Some people represent that this is simply a part of the general superstition which the red men have for any form of hard work, but I incline to the opinion that it is just a straight superstition. On account of this idea the first explorers of the great peaks have found it very difficult to reach the summit.

One of these legends, the scene of which is Mt. Tacoma (which in narrating Indian tales seems the most fitting name), may be styled the Indian legend of Rip van Winkle. According to this there was an old man living near the mountain who was very avaricious and desirous of getting much "hiaqua," by which they signify shell money, still common among the Indians of the Sound. This old Indian seems to have been on very intimate terms with Sahale and kept begging him to supply him with more money by magic. Sahale, however, was aware that this greed for money was liable to make the old Indian a victim of Kahatete, the chief of the demons, and therefore he always refused to grant him any magical power.

But once Moosmoos, the elk divinity, obtained a tomanowas power over the old man and whispered magic in his ear, telling him that upon the summit of Mt. Tacoma he might find much hiaqua and become the richest of all men. Accordingly, going back to his tent, he informed his wife that he was going on a long hunt, but in reality he was setting forth for the summit of Mt. Tacoma. He climbed almost to the summit on the first day, and the next morning,

at the rising of the sun, he stood upon the mighty summit. There he discovered that there was a great valley in the summit of the mountain, all filled with snow except one place in the middle. Here was a lake of black water and at one end of it were three large rocks. The old man was confident that these were tomanowas rocks, for one was shaped like a salmon's head, the next like a camas root, and the third like the head of his own totem or divinity, Moosmoos the elk.

Our hero, perceiving these symbolical rocks, immediately concluded that this must be the place where the hiaqua was secreted. At once therefore he began to dig with an elkhorn pick which he had brought along, at the foot of the rock which was shaped like the head of Moosmoos. At this a number of otters came out of the lake and gathered around in a circle watching him dig. When the man had struck the ground a number of times equal to the number of the otters, they began to pound the ground with their tails. Still he continued to dig, and about the time of the setting of the sun he turned over a great block of stone, underneath which he discovered a cavity filled with great strings of hiaqua, enough to make him the richest man in all the land of Tacoma.

But now the greedy adventurer made a great mistake. He loaded himself down with the strings of hiaqua, but left not a single shell as a votive offering to the tomanowas powers by whose magic he had made the discovery. Sahale was greatly displeased at such ungrateful conduct, and all the tomanowas powers combined to show their wrath. Skanson, the thunder-bird, Tootah, the thunder, and Colesnass, the snow god, all swooped down from the clouds, turned the sky black, and blew the old man with the strings of hiaqua about him across the rocks and buried him in the snow. Out of the darkness came the awful voice of Sahale denouncing his wickedness. Also the terrified old man began now to hear the mocking voice of Kakahete

and his attendant demons. The whole framework of nature seemed about to disrupt, for after the snow storm there came a burst of volcanic fire upon the mountain summit, the air became thick and hot, and streams of water poured down the mountain side.

In spite of all this confusion of nature the old man seems to have retained his consciousness and he began to think how he might propitiate the offended deities. He accordingly dropped one of his strings of hiaqua as an offering, but this seems to have been a mere mockery and the demons and the winds kept howling at him in derisive tones, "Hiaqua! hiaqua!" Then the old man laid down one string after another of the hiaqua until they were all gone. After this surrender of his treasure he fell upon the ground and entered into the sleep country. When he awoke he found himself at the very place where he had gone to sleep the night before he climbed to the summit of Mt. Tacoma. Being very hungry he gathered camas roots with which to refresh himself, and while eating he began to have many thoughts in regard to his life and doings. His "tum-tum," as the Indians would say (heart), was much softened as he contemplated his greed for hiaqua. He found that he no longer cared for hiaqua, and that his mind was calm and tranquil and benevolent. Moreover he went to look at himself in a pool, and discovered that he had marvellously changed. His hair had become long and white as snow. The mountain itself had changed its contour. The sun shone brightly, the trees glistened with new leaves, the mountain meadows were sweet with the perfume of flowers, the birds sung in the trees, the mighty Mt. Tacoma towered calm, tranquil and majestic into the deep blue sky, glistening with new fallen snow, all nature seemed to rejoice, and the old Indian found that he was in a new world. And now he seemed to remember where he was, and he made his way without difficulty to his old tent. There he found an old woman with white hair, whom he did

not at first recognize, but soon discovered to be his own "clotchman." She told him that he had been gone many suns and moons, and that in the meantime she had been digging camas and trading for hiaqua, of which she had accumulated much. The old man now perceived all the mistakes of his former avaricious life and settled down in his own home upon the banks of the Cowlitz in peace and contentment, becoming a great tomanowas man and a counsellor and advisor to the Indians in all times of trouble. He was worshipped by them for his wisdom and benevolence, as well as for his strange experience on the summit of Mt. Tacoma.

The prettiest and most poetical of all Indian legends in connection with Mt. Tacoma is that of Lawiswis, the queen of the fairies. According to this legend, Nekahni, which is another name for the great spirit, lived upon the slopes of Mt. Tacoma in the upper portion of what we now call Paradise Valley. There he kept his flocks of wild goats, and from that lofty height he watched and ruled the earth spread out before him. Now there lived in the lower part of the valley a lovely creature called Lawiswis. She was of the nature of both sea shells and roses, so that when she went to the shore the sea shells all worshipped her and caught the dew of the morning as a nectar for her to drink. When she was in paradise the roses made her like obeisance and served her with like nectar which they caught from the morning dew. She was also the queen of the fairies, and of everything beautiful, a sort of a Tacoma Titania, in fact. Nekahni loved this fairy queen and built her a bower in paradise, which was surrounded with masses of wild roses, and these roses at that time were pure white and had no thorns. Part of the time Nekahni dwelt high up on the mountain watching his wild goats or communing with Skamson and Tootah and Colesnass, and part of the time he would descend to dwell with Lawiswis in her fairy bower.



Now there was at that time dwelling in the dark and sullen gorge of the Nisqually River a famous skookum named Memelek. Memelek was a frightful looking creature. She was clothed in strips of cougar skins, fastened together with the fingers of slaughtered fairies. She had snakes around her neck and waist, and when she wished to kill anything she would send these snakes to bite them. Memelek hated Lawiswis on account of her beauty and innocence, and especially because Nekahni favored her so much more than herself. Accordingly one day when Nekahni was busily engaged with his goats high up on the rocks of what we now call Gibraltar, Memelek determined to wreak her wicked vengeance upon the helpless and innocent Lawiswis. She therefore stole up out of the gorge to the bower in paradise and letting loose her snakes bade them go and sting to death the fairy queen, who was lying innocently asleep. And now the roses around the bower saw the imminent danger of their adored mistress. What could they do? Nekahni was far away and could not come in person, but by a magical petition they let him know the danger, and instantly, just as the loathsome reptiles were crawling up upon them, the roses turned a bright red and were covered with sharp thorns which pierced the coils of the reptiles so that they turned back in dismay and fled to their hideous mistress. Thus Lawiswis was saved and the discomfited Memelek was forbidden ever to come up out of the deep gorge of the Nisqually, and there she has remained ever since.

Stories similar to those of Mt. Tacoma are told by Indians around all the great snow peaks. And, although it may seem strange at the present time when the whites have been so long in the country, it is true that the Indians even now believe more or less in those old superstitions. The writer was once going to Mt. Adams to take pictures, and on the way up the mountain met a party of white men descending in company with an old Indian guide.

The Indian had however refused to go to the summit of the mountain, though without assigning his reasons. But, when the two parties passed each other he noticed the camera, and as soon as we had passed he asked what it was. The man whom he addressed and who afterwards related this to the writer, explained the nature and object of the instrument. Whereupon the old guide shook his head very dubiously and muttered that this was a very bad tomanowas. On being pressed to give his reasons, he explained that in a cavity on the summit of the mountain at the head of the Klickitat glacier there lived a great thunder bird. Its wings extended hundreds of feet in length and were gilded so bright that when they flapped flashes of lightning followed, and the closing of these mighty wings produced the sound of thunder. Furthermore, he said that whenever any bad tomanowas or presumptuous deed of any kind was performed upon the mountain the thunder bird would issue forth and cause a great storm. The old Indian explained to the men he was with that he did not like the looks of the picture machine and he was satisfied that the thunder bird would be displeased and cause a storm that night. And sure enough, when we had got high up on the mountain, there came on a fearful thunder storm. The men in the other party, who afterward told me the incident, said that there was a look of "I told you so" upon the old Indian's face, which was indescribably satisfied and interesting.

It is not an easy matter to get Indians to refer to superstitions of this kind. They are afraid of ridicule, and more even than civilized people, they are sensitive to the slightest degree of ridicule. A person cannot obtain Indian stories except by a long acquaintance in which he has entirely gained their confidence. If a stranger tries to pump them prematurely they will look at him with that inscrutable expression which gives such strange pathos to an Indian

face, give one or two uncanny chuckles, and then relapse into a moody silence.

A view of any mythology would be incomplete without some inquiry into the ideas which it contains in regard to the supposed spiritual life and a future state. There is a mysterious unity between the gods or supernatural beings and the spiritual life and future existence of men. Hindoo mythology, with its multitudinous divinities and its metempsychosis; Greek mythology, with its sunny and artistic representations of the beautiful and the heroic; Norse mythology, with its rugged and sublime personifications of the stern northern winter,—these are all manifestations of the instinctive efforts of men to harmonize the immortal and the invisible with the temporal and the visible. In similar manner the rude and grotesque, yet often pathetic and sometimes even beautiful fancies of our poor native barbarians, illustrate the same kind of psychological processes and attempts to form a harmonious view of the seen and the unseen, the here and the hereafter.

Nearly all our native races have a more or less coherent idea of a future state of rewards and punishments. "The happy hunting grounds" of the Indians are often referred to in connection with the Indians of the older part of the United States. Our Indians have ideas in general quite similar. Some believe that there is a hell and a heaven. The Siskiyou Indians in southern Oregon have a curious idea similar to that of the ancient Egyptians, as well as of the Mohammedans. This is to the effect that the regions of the blessed are on the other side of an enormously deep chasm. To pass over this one must cross on a very narrow and slippery pole. The good can pass, but the bad fall off into empty space, whence they reappear again upon earth as beasts or birds.

There is a legend among the Yakima Indians which seems to have the same root in human nature as the beautiful Greek myth of Orpheus and Eurydice, showing the

instinctive desire of people on earth to bring back the spirits of the dead and the impossibility of doing so. This myth sets forth how Speelyi and Whyama the eagle became at one time so grieved at the loss of their loved ones that they determined to go to the land of the spirits and bring them back. The two adventurers journeyed for a long distance over an unbroken plain, and came at last to a great lake, on the farther side of which they saw many houses. They called long and vainly for someone to come with a boat and ferry them over. But there was no sign of life and at last Whyama said that there could be no one there. Speelyi insisted, however, that the people were simply sleeping the sleep of the day and would come forth at night. Accordingly, when the sun went down and darkness began to come on Speelyi started to sing. In a few minutes they saw four spirit men come to the bank, enter a boat and cross the lake to meet them. It seemed not necessary for them to row the boat, for apparently it skimmed over the water of its own accord. The spirit men having landed, took Whyama and Speelyi with them in the boat and began their return to the island of the dead. The island seemed to be a very sacred place. There was a house of mats upon the shore, where music and dancing were in progress. Speelyi and Whyama begged leave to enter, and feeling hungry, they asked for food. The spirit land was so much less gross than the earth that they were satisfied by what was dipped with a feather out of a bottle. The spirit people now came to meet them dressed in most beautiful costumes, and so filled with joy that Speelyi and Whyama felt a great desire to share their happiness. By the time of the morning light, however, the festivities ceased and all the spirit people became wrapped in slumber for the day. Speelyi, observing that the moon was hung up inside the great banquet hall and seemed to be essential to the ongoings of the evening, stationed himself in such a place that he could seize it

during the next night's meeting. As soon as night came on the spirits gathered again for the music and dance. While their festivities were in progress as usual, Speelyi suddenly swallowed the moon, leaving the entire place in darkness. Then he and Whyama brought in a box, which they had previously provided, and Whyama, flying swiftly about the room, caught a number of the spirits and enclosed them in the box. Then the two proceeded to start for the earth, Speelyi carrying the box upon his back.

As the two adventurers went upon their long journey toward the earth with the precious box, the spirits, which at first were entirely imponderable, began to be transformed into men and to have weight. Soon they began to cry out on account of their crowded and uncomfortable position. Then they became so heavy that Speelyi could no longer carry them. In spite of the remonstrances of Whyama, he opened the box. They were then astonished and overwhelmed with grief to see the partially transformed spirits flit away like autumn leaves and disappear in the direction from which they had come. Whyama thought that perhaps even as the buds grow in the spring, so the dead would come back with the blooming of the next flowers. But Speelyi deemed it best after this that the dead should remain in the land of the dead. Had it not been for this, as the Indians think, the dead would indeed return every spring with the opening of the leaves.

The Klickitat Indians, living along the Dalles of the Columbia have another legend of the land of spirits. There was a young chief and a girl who were devoted to each other and seemed to be the happiest people in the tribe, but suddenly he sickened and died. The girl mourned for him almost to the point of death, and he, having reached the land of spirits, could find no happiness there on account of thinking of her.

And so it came to pass that a vision began to appear to the girl by night, telling her that she must herself go

into the land of the spirits in order to console her lover. Now there is near that place one of the most weird and funereal of all the various "memaloose" islands, or death islands, of the Columbia. The writer himself has been upon this island and its spectral and volcanic desolation makes it a fitting location for ghostly tales. It lies just below the "great chute," and even yet has many skeletons upon it. In accordance with the directions of the vision, the girl's father made ready a canoe, placed her in it, and rowed out into the great river by night to the memaloose island. As the father and his child rowed across the dark and forbidding waters, they began to hear the sound of singing and dancing and great joy. Upon the shore of the island they were met by four spirit people, who took the girl but bade the father return, as it was not for him to see into the spirit country. Accordingly the girl was conducted to the great dance house of the spirits, and there she met her lover, far stronger and more beautiful than when upon earth. That night they spent in unspeakable bliss, but when the light began to break in the east and the song of the robins began to be heard from the willows on the shore, the singers and the dancers began to fall asleep.

The girl, too, had gone to sleep; but not soundly like the spirits. When the sun had reached the meridian, she woke, and now, to her horror, she saw that instead of being in the midst of beautiful spirits, she was surrounded by hideous skeletons and loathsome, decaying bodies. Around her waist were the bony arms and skeleton fingers of her lover, and his grinning teeth and gaping eye-sockets seemed to be turned in mockery upon her. Screaming with horror she leaped up and ran to the edge of the island, where, after hunting a long time, she found a boat, in which she paddled across to the Indian village. Having presented herself to her astonished parents, they became fearful that some great calamity would visit the tribe on

account of her return, and accordingly her father took her the next night back to the memaloose island as before. There she met again the happy spirits of the blessed and there again her lover and she spent another night in ecstatic bliss.

In the course of time a child was born to the girl, beautiful beyond description, being half spirit and half human. The spirit bridegroom, being anxious that his mother should see the child, sent a spirit messenger to the village, desiring his mother to come by night to the memaloose island to visit them. She was told, however, that she must not look at the child until ten days had passed. But after the old woman had reached the island her desire to see the wonderful child was so intense that she took advantage of a moment's inattention on the part of the guard and, lifting the cloth from the baby board, she stole a look at the sleeping infant. And then, dreadful to relate, the baby died in consequence of this premature human look. Grieved and displeased by this foolish act, the spirit people decreed that the dead should never again return nor hold any communication with the living.





## SPECIAL MEETING OF THE COUNCIL.

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A MEETING of the Council was held at the hall of the Society at 5 P. M., on April 26, 1904, President SALISBURY in the chair.

There were also present, Messrs. Paine, Chase, S. S. Green, Hall and Engler.

President SALISBURY said:—

It is with great regret that I formally call the attention of the Council to the loss of our beloved associate, EGBERT COFFIN SMYTH, D.D., LL.D., of Andover, who died at his home, of pneumonia, April 12th, at the age of seventy-five years.

His beautiful character and scholarly attainments, native simplicity and sincerity of manner, and fairness of judgment endeared him to all with whom he came in contact.

The Council always found in him an adviser ready to suggest a broad and liberal course of action, and a member who kept the interests of our Society constantly in mind.

Dr. Smyth became a member of the Society in 1870, and was made a Councillor in 1880. He prepared four reports of the Council and three formal papers, besides adding many shorter contributions in the literary discussions that occurred at the stated meetings of the Society.

The RECORDING SECRETARY offered the following:—

Death has visited us again, and taken away one of our brilliant and honored members. The Society received a valuable accession to its roll of able and honored men when the Rev. EGBERT C. SMYTH joined its ranks; and from his election to the Council this body gained the benefit of his wisdom and the rare privilege of his friendship and intimate acquaintance.

Dr. Smyth's position in his chosen profession and field of theology was almost unique; and we cannot now enter

upon so great a task as to give its history or to describe the great change in the theology of the Christian church which has taken place in the last half century and which is so largely due to the modest, conscientious, non-belligerent teaching of this quiet New England scholar. His name must ever hold a place in church annals not unlike the names of Luther, Calvin, Edwards and (in a different school), the name of Channing.

His contributions to our Proceedings were never of a polemic character, but were of general interest, and gave evidence that much time and labor had been spent in preparing them.

While he was undoubtedly of a strong and rugged character, his nature was very sweet; and we shall always treasure the delightful recollections of our communion with him at our meetings, especially at the semi-social meetings in the autumn when we all shared in the hospitality of our senior Vice-President, Senator HOAR.

Attest:

CHARLES A. CHASE,  
*Recording Secretary.*

## SPECIAL MEETING OF THE COUNCIL.

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A SPECIAL meeting of the Council was held at the hall of the Society at 11 A. M., on Oct. 3, 1904.

Present: President Salisbury and Messrs. Paine, S. A. Green, Davis, S. S. Green, Adams, Engler, Wright and Chase.

President SALISBURY said:—

It is with feelings of great sorrow that we are met to-day to consider the irreparable loss this Society has met in the death of our first Vice-President, the Honorable GEORGE FRISBIE HOAR, LL.D.

As a member third upon the list in date of election, in 1853, Vice-President in 1878, and President from 1884 to 1887, when he was forced by the pressure of his senatorial duties in Congress to resign and to resume his place as Vice-President, we mourn his death. As was the case with the founder of the Society, Isaiah Thomas, of the librarians, Christopher Columbus Baldwin and Samuel Foster Haven, and of other past officers and members of the Society, Senator Hoar loved this Society, and was in turn loved and respected by its members.

Often has he made this statement, that no literary organization with which he was connected gave him more keen satisfaction and pleasure than ours, nor was there any whose purposes were more congenial to his tastes and mental activities.

Certainly the Council of the Society has had opportunity to observe, that in season and out of season between the stated meetings, the constant loving thought of the Senator, while far away and occupied with great national problems, was busy with some course of action or some investigation that would advance the welfare of our association. His gifts of valuable books, paintings, historical relics and pecuniary assistance have been among the

largest we have received from any source. He has prepared five stated reports of the Council and more than twenty formal papers on historical and *belles-lettres* literature, besides innumerable shorter communications made at our regular meetings, which only he could have brought to our notice, on account of his special opportunities of acquaintance with the facts.

For many years, it has been the practice of the Senator to entertain the Council at his home when the preparatory meetings were held, and his hospitality, joined with his courtesy and unselfish devotion to what might be for our best interests, animated this Board to strive for the highest good of the Society.

The Council of the Society realize that in the death of Senator Hoar, they have lost an officer, friend and adviser, whose place cannot be filled. His great learning, eloquence and sound judgment were always devoted unstintingly to the furtherance of what is best in literature and art, and to what he thought was for the improvement of the community. He was fearless, honest and sincere in his convictions, and was persistent and untiring in his efforts to bring about results that commended themselves to his judgment and conscience. We feel that his example and influence upon us and upon our Society will long remain, to inspire us to greater activity in the lines so conspicuously shown by his constant and unremitting devotion to his country, his state and to the public welfare.

To the family and all those most near and dear to the deceased Senator, we offer our profound sympathy and condolence.

NATHANIEL PAINE, A.M., said:—

Mr. President, while there is but little to add to what has already been said by you in eulogy of our departed associate, I cannot let the occasion pass without a few words to express my own feelings at this time.

The death of Senator HOAR comes to me as a personal loss, as it has been my great good fortune to have been on somewhat intimate terms with him for several years. I am indebted to him for many kind words in my behalf, and for many manifestations of his kindness and considera-

tion, and I look back to his friendship as a most precious memory. All who have known him will bear testimony to his great modesty. A man of great ability and having had the highest honors of the state and nation bestowed upon him, yet to the humblest of his friends appearing on such terms of good fellowship that one could not but feel at ease in his company. With a delightful conversational power and a wonderful memory that could at once call to mind words of wisdom or of humor from the best in English literature, his society was a pleasure and an inspiration to those privileged and honored by his friendship.

As you are aware, Senator Hoar was often called upon to give his aid and sympathy in enterprises and interests intended to benefit our goodly city or county, and to these calls he responded cheerfully. It has been my pleasure to have been associated with him in some of them, and I can testify that he was a tower of strength to those acting with him. His strong and judicial presentation of any matter in which he was interested never failed to enlist their co-operation and sympathy.

Of the great loss sustained by the Antiquarian Society it is not necessary to speak at length. We all recognize it, and shall miss him greatly at our meetings,—abler voices will express in fitting terms at the proper time how greatly; and I can only add my appreciation and respect to those of yourself and other members of the Council. I will, however, mention the fact that at one of my last visits to Senator Hoar, a short time before his death, he spoke of the Antiquarian Society and of the hope that he might be able to present at least one more paper upon a subject he had in mind.

I join with you, Mr. President, in wishing to spread upon the records our realization of the great loss we have sustained by the death of our most honored and distinguished associate.

SAMUEL A. GREEN, LL.D., said:—

When a public man has reached the age allotted by the Psalmist, and passed beyond that period, and has died in the fulness of his mental powers and at the height of his successful work, his death should not be the subject

of sorrow, but rather of gratitude and thanksgiving that he had lived so long. While we all shall miss Mr. HOAR and mourn his loss, we can but feel that he died at an opportune time for his own reputation, when not a discordant note was heard in the testimony to the universal love and affection in which he was held by all classes of the community. With his keen wit, in his younger days he had the faculty of saying sharp things; and he was withal a good deal of a partisan in politics. Sometimes his caustic reply would leave a sting, but with the flight of time this trait in his character melted away. In recent years his heart grew so big that in his loving kindness he included all races and creeds, and he hated only oppression and hypocrisy. I do not think that there was a man in this Commonwealth, and perhaps not in the country, who had such a large following from the various classes of society, and made up, too, from all the different elements. They each and every one had so much faith in his utter incorruptibility, that in a general way they accepted his judgment on all public questions.

Mr. Hoar came of sturdy New England stock, his mother being a daughter of Roger Sherman, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, and he was brought up in a country village, where he acquired those homely traits of character which cannot be taught by rule, but are absorbed by early associations and by contact with others.

He began his professional life on a solid foundation, and from the start his success was sure. Such was his integrity that men believed in him, and he became a strong force in the neighborhood. Throughout his public life this power was always exerted in favor of human rights and the moral law. To a remarkable degree he kept up his knowledge of the Greek and Latin classics, and few persons were so familiar with what is best in English literature. Whatever topic was under discussion, I never knew one so ready with an apt quotation to fit the subject. He was a ripe scholar and a wise statesman; and it will be a long time before we see another such instance of a man who could illustrate in his own life so many sides of a distinguished career.

Perhaps I ought here to mention the fact that Mr. Hoar was connected with the administration of the Peabody

Education Fund, as a Trustee, and that in this capacity he was a constant attendant at the meetings. He was chosen in October, 1897, to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Judge Lowell; and no member of the Board ever paid closer attention to the merits of each individual case that came up for consideration.

SAMUEL SWETT GREEN, A.M., said:—

Mr. President, it is pleasant to speak of Mr. HOAR in the presence of the gentlemen sitting here. He loved every member of the Council, and every member of the Council loved and admired him. He always kept this Society in mind and its interests in his heart.

You have spoken of the many papers which Mr. Hoar prepared for us and read at our meetings. But he should be credited also with securing papers from other members of the Society. Various events and sequences in history which it seemed to him needed investigation, suggested themselves to his mind, and it was his custom to seek out members and others who had the qualifications, and urge them to write papers on these subjects. Is there a gentleman here who has not on more than one occasion been stimulated by Mr. Hoar to make a communication to the Society on a subject recommended by him?

A short time before he became confined to the house he took me out to ride, and drove to Sutton to show me the monument which had just been put up in honor of General Rufus Putnam, at the dedication of which he delivered his last elaborate address. In the course of conversation during the drive, he talked about the future of this Society, and expressed great regret that the young men who are now coming into active life, and those who have just begun to achieve success, show little interest in historical pursuits, becoming wholly absorbed in the pursuit of their daily occupations, in making money and in social enjoyments.

"Why," said he, "when I was young I used to look with profound reverence upon such a man as Charles Deane, delighted to be in his company, and was anxious to catch his spirit. It saddens me to see that young men today do not study outside of professional work, and care little for general or special scholarship."

My recollections of Mr. Hoar, associates, are largely connected with delightful excursions which he got up for our enjoyment. There was nothing that gave him so much pleasure as to gather his close friends around him and take them on an outing in which intellectual enjoyment should be joined with friendly social intercourse. It was a common thing for him to take his friends to the Rufus Putnam place at Rutland. He carried John Sherman there. He would have taken President McKinley to Rutland had it not been for the sudden illness of the President's wife, which prevented him from coming to Worcester. He delighted to show his friends from Ohio where one of the leading founders of the state lived, and the house from which he went forth to render his powerful aid in settling the Northwestern territory. He took the members of the Council and others to Copp's Hill Cemetery and the Granary and King's Chapel burying-grounds. Again he took us to Concord, where his lamented nephew, Samuel Hoar, entertained us at luncheon, and where he himself pointed out the objects of historical interest and dwelt upon the scenes which they commemorated with the enthusiasm and loving interest of a devoted historical student to the manner born. Another time he took us to Quincy, upon the invitation of our associate in the Society and Council, Mr. Adams, who entertained the party with hearty and profuse hospitality and, showing us the famous burial-ground, the historic houses of Quincy and other objects and scenes of especial interest, opened for us the vault in which lie the tombs of the two Presidents of the United States, his ancestors. It was from Mr. Adams's desire to please Mr. Hoar that we were indebted for our visit, and on this occasion, as on the others mentioned, Mr. Hoar's hospitality was continued by taking us to one of the best hostelrys in Boston to dinner.

Mr. Hoar was very fond of nature, and always wished to enjoy beautiful scenery in the company of friends. He liked to take us to the top of Asnebumskit, along the charmingly bordered roads in the neighborhood of Worcester, and to go out with us for a drive by moonlight. His earnest efforts and protracted exertions to hear a nightingale sing, in England, are remembered by his intimates.



A mountain in the western part of the state had been given to the commonwealth, and placed in the hands of the Trustees of Reservations, of which Mr. Hoar was President. An early thought of his, quickly acted on, was to charter a train of cars and take many of his friends to see the new acquisition of the state and enjoy with him the charm of the views from the mountain's top. Again we must go with him to Springfield and Holyoke and climb Mount Tom. Men of parts spent a day together, wit sparkled and information was pleasantly exchanged. Cares were thrown aside and social enjoyment reigned. Mr. Hoar's friends delighted to entertain him and his friends, and he made profuse provision himself on these trips to gratify the cravings of the body as well as the desires of the mind and the heart.

These excursions under the guidance and as the guests of Mr. Hoar have been red-letter days in our lives, and, linked with the remembrance of them, our delightful recollections of the beaming geniality, the frolicsomeness, the bright sayings, the wise words, the beautiful simplicity and modesty and the charming presence of our host.

Among the many traits which endeared us to Mr. Hoar one stands out prominently. I mean his uncompromising affection. As we pass through life we are often criticised and meet with many rebuffs. But if we were assured of the friendship of Mr. Hoar we soon found that he saw no imperfections in us, but loved us with his whole heart.

A great and good man has passed away, but his memory will always be green, and the remembrance of companionship with him will recall some of the pleasantest days of our life.

CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, LL.D., said:—

I hold Senator HOAR one among the fortunate men with whom I have in life come in contact. He was fortunate in two respects. It was given him to follow the career which he probably would most have preferred in life, to an ultimate result; and that ultimate result, while it filled the measure of his desires and ambition, did not assume the shape of what might be called a false climax. In other words, his career continued, and steadily developed, until the end came. His sun went down full orbed.

I well remember the first time I ever saw Senator Hoar. It was before he entered public life, and while yet a practising lawyer in Worcester. He came into the Boston office, in which I had a desk, one day, in the winter of 1868, being then a man of a little over forty. I had before known his brother, Rockwood Hoar; and, afterwards, I knew "the Judge" better than I ever knew "the Senator." In fact, of the two, I may say "the Judge" appealed to me most. Nevertheless, my acquaintance with "the Senator" covered thirty years of our common lives; and, while letters I have in my possession show that it was not otherwise than agreeable to him, I can say for myself he placed me under many and deep obligations. I ever found him ready to render me any service in his power. Indeed, I think he had a somewhat traditional feeling towards me, coming down from the days of his father and my grandfather; and, with George Frisbie Hoar, traditions went far. He was apt to venerate those whom Samuel Hoar venerated.

Senator Hoar, however, holds in my thought a most interesting, and quite dramatic, position among the public men of Massachusetts. With him ends an era. Or rather, perhaps I ought to say, with him ends a succession of public men who were characteristic of an era,—its natural product. I refer to what may best be described as the period of Massachusetts anti-slavery agitation,—a period during which a class of men forged to the front who had grown up in, and drew their inspiration from, what may be termed the School of Human Rights; that is, looking to the principles laid down in the Declaration of Independence, they went into political life with the application of those principles to the African in America always in view. Thus they approached all questions which confronted them from a somewhat *doctrinaire* standpoint,—that of the everlasting and inalienable Rights of Man, as man,—his equality before the law. It was a humanitarian, rather than a religious or an economic dispensation. Men of this class, therefore, regarded all political questions in a more thoroughly altruistic spirit than probably any other of its public men since the commonwealth was founded. In the early days, and among the first school of Massachusetts statesmen,—of whom John Winthrop was the great exponent,—the question was always of

the rights of the Colony in opposition to possible demands, or the encroachments of the mother country. The next race of statesmen, that of the early period of the Province as distinguished from the Colony, were largely theological in their views, and their thought was intent on a class of material questions growing out of a young industrial development, and upon the issues which arose out of the wars of Queen Anne and the first two Georges. Then followed yet another, and distinct, class, of whom Thomas Hutchinson was the best type;—men whose minds were devoted to commerce, law and finance. After that came the statesmen of the Revolution, followed by the Federalists; and, not until after the war of 1812, did a new school come forward, of whom, perhaps, Daniel Webster, Edward Everett and Robert C. Winthrop were most prominent. These men,—scholarly, somewhat given to orations of the formal school, high-toned politically,—applied themselves more especially to questions relating to banks, tariffs and, above all, nationality. It was in 1835 that the presence of yet a new school began to make itself felt. It was a school developed out of the agitation over African slavery, and its extension into the territories of the common country. Of this school Massachusetts furnished three marked exponents,—Charles Sumner, John A. Andrew and George F. Hoar. In the councils of the United States, the Massachusetts succession in this school was distinct and dramatic. It is a sequence of great names. I have said that it began to make itself felt in 1835. It was then that the struggle over the right of petition was inaugurated in Congress, John Quincy Adams its champion. The succession that followed was, as I have said, dramatic; and it was complete. J. Q. Adams died in 1848; Charles Sumner first came into notice, with his “True Grandeur of Nations” oration, in 1845, and he was elected to succeed Mr. Webster and Mr. Winthrop in the United States Senate, in 1851. Sumner sat continuously in the Senate until 1873; and, at the time of his death, Mr. Hoar was already serving his second term in the House of Representatives. Six years later he was promoted, succeeding Gov. Boutwell in Sumner’s seat, continuing the Adams-Sumner succession. The sequence, therefore, covering sixty-nine years, or more than two generations of men, has been nearly complete and consecu-

tive: first, John Q. Adams, from 1835 to 1848; Charles Sumner, from 1851 to 1874; George F. Hoar, from 1869 to 1904. The first of the four,—even then long a veteran,—was, of course, closing his life when he came forward as the first exponent in Congress of Human Rights under the Declaration and the Constitution. He dated back to the Declaration itself. The principles therein set forth for the Anglo-Saxon, were by him extended to the African. The others I have named were, so to speak, his disciples. When Mr. Adams died, Mr. Hoar was already a man of twenty-three. Five years before his father had been expelled from South Carolina. This made at the time an impression on him which never passed away; for he was then in the second year of his college course. That early impression beyond a doubt influenced his views and action for the whole remainder of his life. Mr. Hoar never was an economist; he never was a financier; material questions never appealed strongly to him. Essentially a statesman of Human Rights, with him the school, so far as Massachusetts is concerned, passed out of existence. He has left no successor. On no one does his mantle fall.

There was a trite old Greek saying to the effect that no man was to be reputed happy until his death. Measured by that test Senator Hoar is a happy man. He loved the Senate; and he died, Senator: he loved a political career; and he died in full political career. While, in that career, he met, as men necessarily must meet, occasional set-backs and mischances, he never encountered disaster. The fate of so many public men as conscientious and obedient to the sense of duty as Senator Hoar unquestionably was, unto him was spared; for he was not fated to undergo defeat, bringing his public life to a standstill at a point from which the fall was sharp and recovery impossible. He died surrounded by friends, held in respect by both parties, at the head of one of the leading committees of the Senate, the object of universal respect and deference. He had honor, love, obedience, troops of friends,—much to enjoy. He was not a man caring greatly for wealth, or what wealth brings. He had a competence, not a superfluity; it sufficed. So, as life slowly ebbed away, and he looked back over his record, he could not but have felt that it had been a success. In

one of Tennyson's earlier and better poems,—that, I think, called *The Miller's Daughter*,—there is a stanza I have on more than one occasion already repeated, yet which, in connection with certain persons, ever recurs to me. The speaker is supposed to be an Englishman of wealth, sitting at his table, in his old age, talking to his wife. In reply to some remark of his with a possible tinge of complaint, she asks him whether on the whole his life has not been a happy one. Repeating her words, he replies as follows:—

“Have I not found a happy earth?  
I least should breathe a thought of pain,  
Would God renew me from my birth  
I'd almost live my life again.”

My own belief is, there are not many men who can say this. We would all like to live our lives over if the second life could be, as it were, a revised and corrected edition of the first; but to live it all over marred by the same weaknesses, and committing the same faults, which mark and mar the average, is something which few, I think, would really care to do. I am inclined, however, to think Senator Hoar was one of the exceptional cases. His life was a successful sequence. Beginning with his boyhood in Lincoln and Concord, following through his Harvard course, his professional life at Worcester, his public career, first in the House of Representatives and then in the Senate, and gradually working up to the climax of his final term in that body, I am inclined to think Senator Hoar is one of the few happy, exceptional cases in which a man, looking back from a death-bed, would be willing to say that his life had been a happy one, and he would like to live it all over, just as it had passed.

CARROLL D. WRIGHT, LL.D., said:—

My acquaintance with Senator HOAR began in 1871, but my intimate relations with him began only four or five years ago. But during this latter period I learned much of the greatness of the man, not only as evidenced by his superb mental powers, but as coming from his great heart. He seemed to me a man capable of understanding in the most analytical way all sides of a question; that if he did not so understand, it was because of the

insufficiency of the facts, but when his mind grasped what was truth to him, he had the courage to take the position the truth indicated. This was as true of his attitude toward individuals as toward great problems of statesmanship. With confidence in a man, Senator Hoar could always consider every attack or opposition to him with perfect justice and fairness. He was thus enabled to win the friendship and the warmest personal regard of his associates, whether in the Senate or in the community in which he lived.

My admiration for him, acquired through observation of many years, was greatly increased when I found his attitude toward the new college, with which he had so much to do. Advocating as he did the highest academic work, yet believing that young men should acquire more than a smattering of the classics, he insisted that any young man taking a college course should receive an equipment for citizenship. The making of good citizens was to him pre-eminently the duty of college authorities, but in this making he felt that a knowledge of the best to be obtained from all sources was essential. This gave us a common ground.

Another thing which always impressed me, was Senator Hoar's consideration for young men. It was his delight always to help a young man in achieving success in life. The private secretaries that he has sent out into honorable positions constitute a living evidence of this friendliness and helpfulness in shaping the lives and careers of young men.

In politics, in science and in the professions, elderly men are too apt to look with jealousy upon the young men following them. They somehow feel that they do not wish young men to succeed where they have in a measure failed; nor can they accept the situation of giving their experience, whatever it may have been, to the younger elements. I think this attitude is particularly noticeable in men filling political positions and engaged in scientific work, but the feeling never existed with Senator Hoar. He always welcomed the young man, gave him a cordial hand and sound advice. Approaching his age I always felt when with him as if I were a young man starting in life and sitting at the feet of a teacher who could guide me through the intricate problems which life offers.

I know of no grander tribute to a man, or grander encomium that can be pronounced on him than the recognition of this attitude of Senator Hoar's: his readiness, his sympathy, his helpfulness for the young men who are to make the public of the future. And certainly no man, of whatever age, could be associated with Senator Hoar in any way, without feeling that his education was being supplemented by the wisdom and the precepts which fell from the lips of the great teacher.

The other gentlemen present spoke in support of the President's tribute, and it was voted that it be entered upon the record.

Attest:

CHARLES A. CHASE,  
*Recording Secretary.*

## PROCEEDINGS.

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ANNUAL MEETING, OCTOBER 21, 1904, AT THE HALL OF THE  
SOCIETY IN WORCESTER.

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THE meeting was called to order at 10:30 A. M., by the  
President, the Hon. STEPHEN SALISBURY.

The following members were present:

Edward E. Hale, Nathaniel Paine, Stephen Salisbury,  
Samuel A. Green, William A. Smith, James F. Hunnewell,  
Edward H. Hall, Charles C. Smith, Edmund M. Barton,  
Franklin B. Dexter, Charles A. Chase, Samuel S. Green,  
William B. Weeden, Henry H. Edes, George E. Francis,  
A. George Bullock, William E. Foster, Charles P. Bowditch,  
Charles F. Adams, Francis H. Dewey, Calvin Stebbins,  
Henry A. Marsh, John Green, Leonard P. Kinnicutt,  
George H. Haynes, Charles L. Nichols, Waldo Lincoln,  
George P. Winship, Austin S. Garver, Abbott L. Rotch,  
Samuel Utley, James W. Brooks, Edward H. Gilbert,  
E. Harlow Russell, Benjamin T. Hill, Williston Walker,  
Edmund A. Engler, Alexander F. Chamberlain, Edward  
G. Bourne, Clarence W. Bowen.

The report of the Council, which had been prepared by  
Rev. Dr. EDWARD E. HALE and NATHANIEL PAINE, A.M.,  
was read by Mr. PAINE.

SAMUEL UTLEY, Esq., read biographies of Horace Gray  
and Frederick Temple, and presented biographies of several  
other deceased members.



Rev. WILLISTON WALKER, D.D., of New Haven, presented a memoir of Egbert Coffin Smyth, D.D.

Dr. HALE said:—

“We all meet under the same sense of sorrow that we shall not welcome our Vice-President. The tribute to his worth and memory through the whole country has been a noble illustration of the gratitude of a great nation for the life of a great chief. Members of the Council, at a special meeting on the third of October, have attempted so far as in such a meeting we could do, to express our sense of his loss to us in the affairs of this association. No member of the association was more loyal to it, and as the period for the semi-annual meetings occurred he was always occupied with one or another subject which he would bring before us with personal pleasure and satisfaction. How wide was the range of his interests! It might be a question of constitutional law which we were to discuss,—it might be an anecdote of an English parsonage. It is impossible for us not to feel at every moment of our meeting that the dearest of friends and the wisest of advisers will not meet with us again.

“I had the pleasure of talking yesterday with Rev. Dr. Lombard, of Byfield, who has charge of the publishing of the proceedings of the Bi-Centennial at Sutton, where Mr. Hoar made his last formal address of any character. I believe he spoke here later, but this was the last of his great historical addresses. Dr. Lombard told me an interesting story. He was talking with Mr. Hoar about this address at Sutton, and Mr. Hoar said to him, ‘My boy, I shall deliver that address. The doctors have told me not to come here, but I will deliver the address, if I die tomorrow.’ And he did deliver the address. He called Mr. Lombard ‘my boy’ because he was a son of one of Mr. Hoar’s old friends.”

The Treasurer's report was read by NATHANIEL PAINE, A.M.

The Librarian's report was read by Mr. EDMUND M. BARTON.

The report of the Council was accepted and referred to the Committee of Publication.

A committee appointed to collect ballots for President, reported that thirty-four ballots were cast, all in favor of Hon. STEPHEN SALISBURY.

Dr. SAMUEL A. GREEN, from a committee appointed to recommend a list of names for the other officers of the Society, reported the following list:—

*Vice-Presidents:*

Rev. EDWARD EVERETT HALE, D.D., of Roxbury.  
Hon. SAMUEL ABBOTT GREEN, LL.D., of Boston.

*Council:*

SAMUEL SWETT GREEN, A.M., of Worcester.  
Hon. EDWARD LIVINGSTON DAVIS, A.M., of Worcester.  
GRANVILLE STANLEY HALL, LL.D., of Worcester.  
WILLIAM BABCOCK WEEDEN, A.M., of Providence,  
Rhode Island.  
Hon. JAMES PHINNEY BAXTER, A.M., of Portland, Maine.  
CARROLL DAVIDSON WRIGHT, LL.D., of Worcester.  
EDMUND ARTHUR ENGLER, LL.D., of Worcester.  
ANDREW MCFARLAND DAVIS, A.M., of Cambridge.  
Prof. E. HARLOW RUSSELL, of Worcester.  
SAMUEL UTLEY, LL.B., of Worcester.

*Secretary for Foreign Correspondence:*

FRANKLIN BOWDITCH DEXTER, Litt.D., of New Haven,  
Connecticut.

*Secretary for Domestic Correspondence:*

CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, LL.D., of Lincoln.

*Recording Secretary:*

CHARLES AUGUSTUS CHASE, A.M., of Worcester.

*Treasurer:*

NATHANIEL PAINE, A.M., of Worcester.

*Committee of Publication:*

REV. EDWARD EVERETT HALE, D.D., of Roxbury.

NATHANIEL PAINE, A.M., of Worcester.

CHARLES AUGUSTUS CHASE, A.M., of Worcester.

CHARLES CARD SMITH, A.M., of Boston.

*Auditors:*

AUGUSTUS GEORGE BULLOCK, A.M., of Worcester.

BENJAMIN THOMAS HILL, A.B., of Worcester.

The RECORDING SECRETARY was instructed by unanimous vote to cast a ballot for the officers nominated by the report.

The ballot was so cast and reported.

The RECORDING SECRETARY, in behalf of the Council, recommended for active membership:—

Francis Henry Lee, of Salem.

Daniel Berkley Updike, of Boston.

And for foreign membership,

David Casares, A.B., of Merida, Yucatan.

The first two gentlemen were duly elected by ballot, and the last by uplifted hands.

Rev. CALVIN STEBBINS, of Framingham, read a paper on, "The Development of Democratic Ideas in the Puritan Army."

Dr. HALE said: "Mr President, I will take this opportunity to ask a favor of the gentlemen here, to communicate to me any words of Algonquian origin which linger in their locality. I asked this question a few years ago, and our friend Dr. Green, who knows everything, has favored me with two or three. I think I have none from other quarters, although plenty of people sent me Iroquois and other words. Dr. Green gave me 'torshent,'<sup>1</sup> which may be familiar to people here, and also 'chipmunk,' which he thinks is Algonquian. Then there are 'moccasin,' 'wigwam' and 'papoose.' We have n't much more than forty of those words now, and it seems to me curious that more should not have dropped into the New England vocabulary."

Dr. CHAMBERLAIN: "The Indian words which have leaked into our modern language are many of them in Trumbull's dictionary. I have myself listed all the Algonquian words in the 'Journal of American Folk-Lore' for 1901, I think, literary and popular, and both together they amount to about one hundred and fifty, of which half might be called popular, that is, might have been or are now in daily use. The others are literary words, or words that have been turned into literary uses. I think the numbers possibly are greater than that. Of course, they are not all recorded in Trumbull's dictionary, as that is intended for another purpose, but one finds the origin of a good many of them there.

"Mr President, I would like to announce for the benefit of the Society, that a friend of mine and myself are about to edit the Book of Proverbs as it is contained in Eliot's

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<sup>1</sup> Also written toshent and toshenoe.

Indian Bible. It has been a long-thought-of work. My colleague is Mr. William Wallace Tooker, of Sag Harbor, L. I., one of the most eminent Indian scholars of today, and together we have at last, after much study and investigation of the subject, decided to publish an edition of the Book of Proverbs, with a vocabulary,—that is, treating it much as we would a French text-book, say for high school uses, bringing it before scholars in the United States and all over the world. I am glad, as a member of this Society, to announce first to my associates that the work which we have contemplated for some years is now well under way."

Dr. HALE: "Let me express at once, Mr. President, our gratitude for this announcement, which is so very satisfactory. It fulfils our wish for such a publication."

CLARENCE W. BOWEN, Ph.D., of New York city, spoke as follows:—

*Mr. PRESIDENT and fellow members of the American Antiquarian Society:—*

A portrait of George Washington, painted by the Quaker artist Joseph Wright, having come into my possession more than fifteen years ago, I was interested in learning more of the work of the artist, and found in this country six different portraits. The portrait of Washington which Joseph Wright painted for the military gallery of the Count de Solms in Europe, I was unable to find, but I was brought into correspondence with Dr. Newell Sill Jenkins, an American gentleman living in Dresden, who told me of the discovery of papers relating to the Revolutionary War, in the castle of a Bavarian nobleman. I corresponded direct with Berthold Kalbfuss of Munich, who forwarded to me a translation of a portion of the manuscripts, which proved to be the journal of campaigns in America during the years 1780, 1781, 1782 and 1783, kept by Ludwig, Baron von Closen, aide to Count de Rochambeau. The original papers are written in French and

were deposited in the archives of the family Von Closen at the Castle Gern near Eggenfelden in Bavaria. The present possessor of the entail is Baron Hector von Closen Günderrode. I gave an account of the discovery of the manuscripts and read selections from the translation of the journal before the American Historical Association at its annual meeting held in Washington on December 28, 1889, and subsequently read the same paper before the New York Historical Society and the Long Island Historical Society, but was unable to get possession of the original papers. Several years ago I made another attempt to secure access to the original manuscripts; and through the untiring efforts of James H. Worman, United States Consul-General at Munich, I received from Europe in July of 1903 not only Baron von Closen's two-volume manuscript journal, but a number of unpublished papers of the period of the Revolutionary War which are of great historical value, and in addition, portraits and sketches which the Baron made while in America. The journal consists of two large volumes of two hundred pages each, closely written in French. The manuscripts are one hundred and six in number.

Little is known of John Christopher Lewis, Baron von Closen, to whom we are indebted for gathering while in America one hundred and twenty years ago, such valuable historical material. He was born August 14, 1755, and in his early years entered the French military service, as an uncle of his who had attained the rank of a general in France had done before him. In 1780 Von Closen was captain in the regiment Royal Deux-Ponts, which came to America under Count de Rochambeau. On the arrival of the French in Rhode Island, Von Closen was appointed by Rochambeau one of his aides. In his capacity as aide Von Closen had the opportunity of travelling through the country and of meeting gentlemen of distinction, like John Langdon in New Hampshire, John Hancock in Massachusetts, Jonathan Trumbull in Connecticut, and Thomas Jefferson in Virginia. Washington, Lafayette, De Grasse, and all the officers of the American and French armies he also had frequent opportunities of meeting. He visited General Washington at Newburgh and Mrs. Washington at Mount Vernon. During the Yorktown campaign Baron

von Closen took letters from Washington to Count de Grasse, which contained the intelligence that Admiral Digby had just arrived in New York with a reinforcement of six ships of the line. Prior to the Yorktown capitulation Von Closen was brought into close personal contact with Washington, Lafayette, Rochambeau and De Grasse, conferences with whom he describes minutely in his journal. Von Closen was the only Bavarian, with the exception of a brother of King Maximilian, who received the American Order of the Cincinnati. On returning to Europe he became quartermaster-general, chamberlain and knight of the French Orders for Merit and of the Legion of Honor. In 1811, when Von Closen was fifty-six years old, he was sub-prefect of the Rhine and Moselle under General Dumas, Councillor of State, and his fellow aide-de-camp in 1781. Von Closen died August 9, 1830, at the age of seventy-five years. It might be added that in 1840 Von Closen's son was chamberlain of His Majesty the King of Bavaria.

After an examination of the Von Closen papers I forwarded the same to the Librarian of Congress, who sent them to St. Louis for exhibition at the World's Fair. They are now in the Government Building. If it is necessary to return these papers to the family in Europe I hope first to obtain permission to have a copy made of all the Von Closen papers, in order that students of history in America may have access to them.

Dr. Bowen closed by reading several extracts from the journal.

SAMUEL SWETT GREEN, A.M., of Worcester spoke as follows:

*Mr. PRESIDENT and gentlemen:—*

I hold in my hand a letter which Elihu Burritt wrote to me a number of years ago. I thought it might be well to have it printed in our Proceedings, on account of the interest in the cause of peace awakened by the International Peace Congress recently held in Boston and because of the interest felt by members of this Society in Mr. Burritt on account of the large use which he made of our library when a resident of Worcester.

He came to this place from New Britain, Connecticut, soon after the business depression of 1837. Born in 1819, he was the son of a farmer and early learned the trade of blacksmith. Fond of study, he took mathematics, with the idea of becoming a surveyor, and early acquired some knowledge of the Greek, Latin and French languages.

He opened a grocery store in New Britain, but failed. Going to Boston, in the hope of getting employment as a blacksmith, he did not succeed. Then he came to Worcester, where he found employment as a blacksmith, and spent his leisure time in the rooms of this library to gratify his taste for the study of languages.

Mr. Burritt believed he had an aptitude for mathematics and that his interest in languages was acquired; although his reputation as a student has generally rested upon his greater or less knowledge of languages. I have seen it stated that he had a considerable acquaintance with thirty-two languages.

While he was here he studied languages of Europe and Asia. I have had placed on the table before me some of the very books which he used largely while he studied in this library. His room was in a block owned by the father of our President, directly across from this building, on Main street, and very near to the old building of the Society on Summer street, where he studied. Mr. Burritt speaks in his autobiography of having translated here "all the Icelandic Sagas relating to the discovery of North America; also the epistles written by the Samaritans of Nablous to Savants of Oxford." The sagas which he used are at my side; perhaps, however, the most interesting thing which he mentions as having found here is a Celto-Breton dictionary and grammar. This book also is here, on the table. He studied in this volume and soon determined to write a letter in the Celto-Breton language to the Royal Antiquarian Society of France. He did so, and a few months after received at his anvil a package in which was a large volume, bearing the seal of that society, containing a copy of his letter in Celto-Breton and an introduction from a scholar, in which it was stated that the letter was correctly composed.

It was in this town, early in the forties, that Mr. Burritt's interest in reform began. He became convinced,



soon after the time when he was making translations in the old hall of this Society, that there was other and more important work for him to do, and need that a live word should be said in behalf of several reformatory measures. He now gave his time and energies to philanthropic efforts, and very soon became especially interested in the cause of human brotherhood and universal peace among nations. He established in this town a paper known as the "Christian Citizen," devoted to the anti-slavery cause, peace, temperance, self-cultivation, etc., which was published here for several years. During the first three years of his absence in Europe, he conducted this paper by the aid, largely, of Mr. Thomas Drew. He sent many communications to it from abroad.

The letter which I have here relates to an incident in the history of the work which Mr. Burritt did in behalf of peace. Dr. Hale, Dr. Green and others here will remember the excitement there was in this country in the political campaign of 1844; my memory does not go quite far enough back to recall the incidents of that contest, but I do remember the joy there was on the face of my mother's father when he came home to his house in Dedham and said that Clay was elected President, and the gloom which overspread his countenance when he appeared again, not many hours after, and said that New York had gone for Polk, and the democratic candidate was elected. You will remember that the two great issues in the campaign were the question of the annexation of Texas and the demands which should be made by the United States upon Great Britain for territory in Oregon. The cry of the democratic party was, "Fifty-four forty, or fight!"

In the early part of the year 1846 there was very great danger that Great Britain and the United States would go to war on the question of the Oregon boundary, and at that time international friendly letters were sent from different towns in England to different towns in the United States, urging us to work in behalf of peace between the two countries. Those letters were sent to Mr. Burritt, and he saw that they were forwarded to the places to which they were addressed, and some of them he carried himself. The letter which I hold speaks of what he did in advancing the cause urged in these communications. I will ask

the Secretary to read it in a moment. Replies were made to the British letters. Mr. Burritt carried some of these across the Atlantic himself; among others the reply from Worcester, Massachusetts, to Worcester, England.

He went to England in May, 1846, in the same steamer that carried the news of the settlement of the Oregon question. The dominant party had concluded that the country's interests in Texas would suffer if it persisted in demanding the boundary which it had contended for between Oregon and British territory, and Mr. Buchanan, then Secretary of State, had joined in a treaty that the line should be forty-nine degrees north latitude, a conclusion which was satisfactory to both parties in interest. Some of the addresses which Mr. Burritt carried abroad were presented at public meetings in the towns to which the communications were addressed, among others the address between the two Worcesters. When Mr. Burritt went to England he intended to stay only three months, but he found that there was a great work to be done there in behalf of the cause of peace, and remained abroad three years. Returning he came to Worcester for a little while, but soon took up his residence in New Britain, the place of his birth.

It is unnecessary to speak of the great work which Mr. Burritt did in behalf of the cause of peace; to remind you how he went from one end of England to the other; or to dwell on his great use of the press, in printing leaflets to distribute all over civilized Europe and in this country. I need not mention the great work he did in getting up the International Peace Conferences in Brussels, Paris, Berlin and, in the year of the great exhibition of 1851, in Exeter Hall in the city of London. Mr. Burritt's interest in international penny postage was awakened and inspired by a desire to bring nations together; by means of cheap postage to further the brotherhood of man, and cause peoples to understand and appreciate each other through communicating often with one another.

Mr. Burritt had our own country close to his heart during the twenty-five years that he was doing his great work in Europe in behalf of peace; and when there seemed danger of the Civil War here, which afterwards came to us, on account of the negro question, he, first from Lon-

don, and afterwards in person, in this country, for several years, conducted a journal in Philadelphia in behalf of compensated emancipation, and tried to stir up the people by addresses and by getting up a great convention at Cleveland, so as to prevent war by securing fair treatment for the Southern slaveholders in getting rid of the great curse of slavery. It was a grievous disappointment to Mr. Burritt when the John Brown raid occurred, and to his mind made war inevitable.

In 1863 he went again to England, not with an idea, however, of continuing the arduous labors that he had engaged in, but to meet his old friends again. There he got back into his old way of literary pursuits. He had felt that he had no right to pursue literary recreations while he could attend to the great reforms which he advocated, but having done his life's work in philanthropy, he felt at liberty, in declining years, to return to his old studies. He made a trip on foot from London to "John o' Groat's," and another from London to Land's End and back. He was appointed consular agent of the United States in Birmingham in 1865, and was able to do the work that that position required and at the same time a great deal of literary work. Among other things which he did, he continued the study of different languages, a pursuit which had so much interested him in his early days in New Britain and especially in the hall of this Society.

Coming home again in 1870, Mr. Burritt spent the remainder of his life in New Britain, where he died in March, 1879. It was with enthusiastic delight that, while there in his quiet home, Mr. Burritt witnessed the preparations for the Tribunal of Arbitration at Geneva, and saw means adopted for the peaceful settlement of the disputes caused by the depredations of the rebel steamer "Alabama." He had reason to regard this movement as largely the fruit of his labors, and it roused him at once to join with others in working for the establishment throughout the world, of new measures and institutions for the further advancement of the cause of peace.

We hear comparatively little about Mr. Burritt during the last days of his life. We owe him a debt of profound gratitude for the immense work which he performed in promoting peace and goodwill among men.

The letter follows:—

New Britain, Ct., April 16/74.

SAMUEL S. GREEN, Esq.

My dear sir:

I am very happy to hear that the dear Worcester of my love and pride, where my public life was born, is going to revive the pleasant communion and fellowship with the old Worcester of Mother England with which I was somewhat connected nearly 30 years ago. During the Oregon Controversy in 1846, when it was assuming a serious aspect, Joseph Crossfield, a Quaker of Manchester, originated a kind of direct interchange of sentiments on the subject between English and American towns through Friendly International Addresses. A great number of these addresses were sent from various towns in England and Scotland to our principal cities. These were all sent to me, or my care, and I had them printed on slips, and posted to several hundred newspapers scattered over the Union. One of these was from Edinburgh to Washington, bearing the names of Dr. Chalmers and the first men of that city. I took this on to Washington myself, and among others showed it to John C. Calhoun, who was deeply interested in it. At the same time I took with me an Address signed by 1600 ladies of the City of Exeter, England, to the ladies of Philadelphia, who sent a response to it, signed I believe by over 3000 of their number. When I went to England in 1846 I took with me this response, and also that of our Worcester to the mother Worcester in England. Both were presented at public meetings convened for the purpose, and excited the liveliest interest. I have copied out of the "Christian Citizen" volume for 1846 both communications of the two Worcesters, which will show you the spirit which they breathed and inspired. I do not know what has become of the original Address from Old Worcester. It ought to have been preserved in the archives of the city. I do not know if you have a copy of my last book, "Ten Minute Talks on all sorts of Topics," in your library. I have described this Friendly International Address movement in my Autobiography.

Hoping these facts will suffice for your object

I am Yours Truly,

(Signed) ELIHU BURRITT

Judge SAMUEL UTLEY, Biographer of the Society, said:

A list of twenty-three deceased members has been placed in my hands, and I have prepared notices of twelve, and have arranged for the preparation by other members of the Society of ten more, leaving one deceased member of whom I have not been able to secure sufficient data to enable me to prepare a notice.

It will be observed that the notices that I have prepared, as well as those that are prepared by other members, are generally much shorter than has been the custom. I

should not deem it proper to make so wide a departure from the custom of the Society on my own motion, but it has been done on the suggestion of the President of the Society, on the ground that the scope of the Society is such, that a brief tribute is all that is desirable, and we hope in this way to be able to call upon members to prepare such tributes without its being a burden upon any one.

Of course the relation of the subject of the memoirs to the Society is a main factor in deciding how long the notice should be, and whenever it is thought desirable to have an extended notice we hope to be able to secure some member who is well qualified in the special line necessary to do the very best work.

I think that you will all be glad to hear that Dr. HALE has kindly consented to prepare the tribute to the late Senator Hoar.

Dr. HALE: I should like to ask if anybody can tell me when the Puritan custom of turning the face to the wall in prayer came in. In my own experience as a boy, in my grandfather's house in West Hampton, when morning prayers were announced, men, women and children stood up and faced the wall, turning their back to whoever was conducting the service. That was always the custom at my father's house in family prayers. He turned to the wall and everybody turned to the wall. It never occurred to me as a Puritan custom until a few days ago one of the chaplains in the House of Commons in England had the goodness to send me a picture of the House of Commons in prayer, and to my surprise I found that all the members present had turned their faces to the wall, turning their backs on the officiating clergyman. Now is that a relic of Puritan customs, or where does it come from? Certainly it is not observed in the English Universities at all. But in the House of Commons it seems every-

body turns his back to the officiating officer. Will any gentleman who recollects the older customs of family prayers in New England let us know if he knows anything about this matter?

Mr. CHASE: I would say that that practice continued at the meetings of the Society of Friends up to a recent period.

All the papers and communications were referred to the Committee of Publication, and the meeting was dissolved.

The members in attendance afterwards lunched with President SALISBURY, at his residence.

CHARLES A. CHASE,  
*Recording Secretary.*

## REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.

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THE Council of the American Antiquarian Society present their report for the six months ending October 1, 1904, being the ninety-second year since the foundation of the Society.

It first becomes their sad duty to record the death of members of the Society since the semi-annual meeting in April. It is especially so at this time as they have to announce the death (on the morning of September 30), of Hon. GEORGE FRISBIE HOAR, our revered and faithful first Vice-President. His name was third on our list of members, in order of election, he having been connected with the Society for over fifty years. He had been a Vice-President since 1887, and for three years previously was President. A special meeting of the Council was held on the day of his funeral to take action on his death, at which time President SALISBURY presented a formal and appreciative memorial of our associate. All the members of the Council who were present spoke in eulogistic terms of Senator Hoar, expressing their esteem for him as a friend, a man and a statesman. The action of the Council was referred to the Committee of Publication, and it will appear in the next number of the "Proceedings." HENRY WALBRIDGE TAFT, A.M., of Pittsfield, who was elected a member of the Society in October, 1884, died at his home, September 22, 1904. Mr. Taft had never attended our meetings, but he manifested his interest, from time to time, by contributions of books and pamphlets. Notice of him will be prepared by our Biographer.

During the last six months neat labels have been affixed to the portraits on the walls in the entrance lobby and

in the office of the Librarian, which will undoubtedly be appreciated by the many visitors to our Hall.

It will be remembered that in 1883 "A Partial Index to the Proceedings" was prepared under the direction of Mr. Salisbury, and that at the same time a table of contents of the "*Archæologia Americana*" to that time was also made. It is now contemplated by the Council to have a table of contents prepared of the last fifteen volumes of the Proceedings, being from October, 1880, to and including October, 1903.

The annual reports of the Treasurer and Librarian are presented as a part of the report of the Council, and will give in detail the condition of the departments under their care, which renders it unnecessary for the committee to add anything more at this time.

Mention should be made however that Judge SAMUEL UTLEY, our Biographer, is having prepared appropriate notices of members who have died during the past few years, that have not heretofore appeared in our Proceedings.

**George Douglas Campbell**, 8th Duke of Argyll, was born on April 30, 1823, and died on April 23, 1900.

He had a long and distinguished career, during which he was twice Postmaster-General and three times Lord Privy Seal, and was also Secretary for India. He was author of many books dealing with an unusually wide variety of subjects, such as "*Presbytery Examined*," in which he defends Presbyterianism, and the "*Reign of Law*," an exceedingly able discussion of the Theistic View of Creation, "*The New British Constitution and its Master Builders*," and also of articles on geology, ornithology and zoölogy, and the theories of Henry George and of Darwin. He became a member of this Society in 1869.

He was of the famous family of Campbell, noted for many generations, the second Duke being sometimes held to have been in ability second only to Marlborough. The present Duke of Argyll, favorably known in this country as formerly Governor-General of Canada, married the Princess Louise, daughter of Queen Victoria.



A brief tribute to the late Duke may be found in Higginson's "English Statesmen," page 175.

**Moses Coit Tyler**, a member of this Society since 1879, was born in Griswold, Connecticut, Aug. 2nd, 1835, and died at Ithaca, N. Y., Dec. 28th, 1900. While he was an infant his family went West, settling in Detroit, Mich., where his youth was passed. In 1853 he entered the University of Michigan, but after a year he went to Yale College, where he graduated in 1857. From 1857 to 1859, he studied theology at Yale and Andover, and was then pastor of Congregational churches in Owego and Poughkeepsie, N. Y., till 1862 when his health failed.

After spending several years in Europe he became, in 1867, Professor of English Literature at the University of Michigan, where he remained, save for a short period of editorial work, until 1881, when he was called to the chair of American History at Cornell University, which was created for him and was the first of its kind in this country. This chair he held during life.

In 1878 he published a history of "American Literature, 1607-1765," which was followed in 1897 by his "Literary History of the American Revolution,"—which are his principal works, although he also published numerous other books, pamphlets and magazine articles of great value.

His "History of American Literature" is said to have been not only the first on the subject, but to have practically created the subject. His works are much commended for their thoroughness.

A notice of him by Prof. George L. Burr, of Cornell University, is published in the Proceedings of the American Historical Association for 1901, which suggests that a more elaborate memorial of him by the same author is to follow.

**William Stubbs**, Bishop of Oxford, was born in Knaresborough, England, June 21, 1825, was educated at Christ Church, Oxford, was elected to a fellowship in Trinity College, took holy orders in 1858, received the appointment of Professor of Modern History in Oxford in 1866, which he held until 1884 when he became Bishop of Chester, and from 1889 was Bishop of Oxford during

life. Many of his works treat of historical matters connected with the English Church. His "Constitutional History of England" is very able and of high authority.

He gave Oxford a new rank as a seat for historical research, which his successors, Freeman and Froude, well conserved.

A member of this Society since 1893, he died April 22, 1901.

A notice of him may be found in the Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society for June, 1901.

**Edward Eggleston** was born at Vevay, Indiana, on Dec. 10, 1837, and died on Sept. 3, 1902.

His father, who was a lawyer of Virginian ancestry, soon died, and by reason of delicate health the son was not able to secure a systematic education. For a time he was a Methodist circuit preacher, but soon became connected with newspapers in Chicago, and in 1870 took the position of editor of the *New York Independent*. Later he was pastor of an independent church in Brooklyn, N. Y., but after 1879 he devoted himself to literary work.

As a writer of fiction he dealt largely with Hoosier life. As an historian he wrote concerning certain aspects of American history; and he also delivered lectures at Chautauqua and similar places.

Appreciative notices of him and his work may be found in "Writers of Today," by Henry C. Vedder, and in "Authors at Home," edited by J. L. & J. B. Gilders.

His connection with this Society dates from 1893.

**Horace Gray** became a member of this Society in 1860. Born in Boston, March 24th, 1828, he was graduated at Harvard in 1845. As a partner with Judge E. R. Hoar, he practised law in Boston, and he was also the reporter of the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts from 1854 to 1861. In 1864 he was appointed justice of the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts, being probably the youngest who has held that office. From 1873 to 1881 he was Chief Justice of that Court and then became Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, which office he held till his death. He had sat on the bench of Courts of Last Resort for thirty-eight years, an almost

unparalleled record, which it was his wish to round to full forty years, but this was denied him.

As a judge he early took his place among the ablest, and held that position through life. He had a taste for the historical aspect of the law, and wrote many opinions showing a vast array of learning. The bar of the United States Supreme Court on Dec. 13th, 1902, paid full tribute to his memory in proceedings published in the "United States Supreme Court Reports," vol. 187, page 25, and also in pamphlet form, as did the bar of the State of Massachusetts, in proceedings published in "Massachusetts Reports," vol. 182, page 613. The action of the Massachusetts Historical Society may be found in its second series of "Proceedings," vol. 16, and a memoir by our late associate, Hon. George F. Hoar, is in vol. 18.

He died on Sept. 15, 1902.

**Joseph Williamson** was born in Belfast, Maine, Oct. 5, 1828, and died there Dec. 4, 1902.

Mr. Williamson graduated from Bowdoin College in 1849, was admitted to the bar in 1852, and practised law in his native city during his life. In 1853 he was appointed Judge of the Police Court of Belfast, and on the expiration of his term of office was unanimously re-elected. He was also an alderman and for some years city solicitor.

With his father, he completed a continuous professional career of nearly ninety years on the same spot, with the same sign. As a lawyer he was careful and painstaking, thoroughly investigating whatever he had in hand, and the highest court of his state paid cordial tribute to the value of his legal arguments. In the days before specialization divided the professions into classes, the practice of law in a seaboard city covered law, equity and admiralty, so that the successful lawyer dealing with a wide variety of subjects came to know "something of everything" if not "everything of something." This was the life of Judge Williamson, his recreation being found in history and biography, in which he early showed an interest which he maintained till the last. In youth he prepared a history of Belfast, which later was expanded into a more comprehensive work, and just before death he completed a final volume, so that in it his youth and old age join hands.

He was a member of many historical, genealogical and similar societies, and for them he prepared numerous articles, the "History of Belfast," before mentioned, with his bibliography of Maine being the most important.

An appreciative memoir of him may be found in "The New England Historical and Genealogical Register," vol. 57, pages 3-5, from which this notice is taken.

He became a member of this Society in 1897.

**Frederick Temple** was the son of an army officer, and was born on Nov. 30, 1821, in Santa Maura, on one of the Ionian Islands. He graduated at Oxford in 1842, was tutor in his college for about six years, and then became successively principal of the Government Training School at Kneller Hall, Inspector of Schools, and Head Master at Rugby, holding the latter position for eleven years.

In 1860, he wrote an essay on the "Education of the World," published together with six others by different writers as "Essays and Reviews." These are said to have caused the greatest sensation of the nineteenth century in the English Church, though they would now be regarded as truisms. Dr. Temple was a warm supporter of Mr. Gladstone, and by him in 1869 was nominated to the Bishopric of Exeter, which caused a great commotion in clerical circles, but he was duly confirmed, holding this position till 1885, when he was made Bishop of London, and in 1896 was appointed Archbishop of Canterbury, thus becoming the highest subject in the realm. In this office he died on Dec. 23, 1902.

As an administrator Dr. Temple was unexcelled, and was noted for the strictest impartiality. While head master at Rugby an indignant boy said, "Temple is a beast, but he is a just beast," which the master said was one of the greatest compliments ever paid him. It has been said that he well represented the national conscience. He was a strong advocate of temperance, and insisted that conscience is the only judge of Holy Scriptures. As a wit he has had no equal among English churchmen since Sydney Smith. Dr. Temple should be held in grateful remembrance in this country, on account of his aid in restoring the Bradford History, the initiative in which

was taken by our late associate Senator Hoar, this Society joining with other similar societies and with the Governor of Massachusetts therein. In recognition of this act our Society elected him a member in 1897. A full account of the proceedings was published by the State of Massachusetts, with the "Bradford History," and by Senator Hoar in his "Reminiscences," vol. 2, page 234.

An excellent life of Dr. Temple by C. H. Dant has been recently published.

**William Edward Hartpole Lecky** was born at Newton Park, near Dublin, in Ireland, on March 26, 1838, and died on Oct. 23, 1903.

His father had married an English wife, and died while his son was young. Graduating at Trinity College, Dublin, the son studied divinity with reference to entering the Irish branch of the English Church, but literature and politics soon claimed his attention. In 1861 he published anonymously, his "Leaders of Public Opinion in Ireland," which was later issued under his own name. His "History of the Rise and Influence of Rationalism in Europe," published when he was twenty-seven years of age, and his "History of European Morals from Augustus to Charlemagne," appearing four years later, are very remarkable books for so young a man, and with his "History of England in the Eighteenth Century," constitute his principal literary works, though he was the author of many important essays and other articles, as well as a volume of poems.

In his "History of England," he gave a full account of the American troubles, as also of the difficulties between England and Ireland.

In 1896 he became member of Parliament for Dublin University, and he remained its representative until compelled by ill health to resign. In 1897 he was made Privy Councillor, and after the coronation, the king placed him among the twelve distinguished men who were the original members of the Order of Merit.

Full and critical notices of him may be found in the *London Times* of Oct. 24, 1903, and in "Warner's Library," vol. 22, page 8,929.

He became a member of this Society in 1891.

**Christian Matthias Theodor Mommsen** died on Nov. 1, 1903, having been a member of this Society since 1870.

He was born on Nov. 30, 1817, studied at Kiel from 1838 to 1843, and then travelled, while still pursuing his studies; and he was also an editor for a short time. In 1848 he was Professor of Law at Leipzig, but was removed for political reasons, and then for a time was Professor of Roman Law at Zurich, and after 1858 was Professor of Ancient History at Berlin. His first work was published when he was twenty-six years old, and a list of his writings, published in 1887, contains sixty printed pages. Of his works his "Roman History" is the most important. He is regarded as the greatest of modern German historians, and also has high rank as a jurist. Freeman called him the greatest scholar of our times. The policy of Bismarck was bitterly opposed by him.

As illustrating the change in historical methods, it is said, that he declined to speak on Gibbon, as the critical apparatus of the eighteenth century was so defective from the standpoint of the modern German historian he was afraid that he could not do Gibbon justice. The late Lord Acton said that Mommsen named Macaulay as the greatest historian the world has produced.

Notices of him may be found in *The Nation* of Nov. 12, 1903, *The Outlook*, Dec. 5, 1903, and in "Warner's Library," vol. 26, page 10,206.

**Hermann Eduard von Holst** was born in Russia, June 19, 1841, was educated at Heidelberg, and in 1866 settled in St. Petersburg.

While travelling in Germany in 1867 he published a pamphlet severely criticising the Russian government, and was forbidden to return; after which he spent several years in the city of New York engaged in literary work. In 1872 he became a professor in Strassburg University, and was called to the chair of Modern History at Freiburg in 1874. He visited this country, lectured at Johns Hopkins University, and in 1892 was placed at the head of the historical department of the University of Chicago, where he remained till his health failed in 1899, returning to Germany in 1900, where he died Jan. 20, 1904.

He stands in the first rank among the foreign literary men who have closely studied this country and its institutions. His "Constitutional and Political History of the United States" gives the anti-slavery view, without presenting such strong factors as the building of railroads, the increase of wealth and other material causes which have played such part in the development of the country. This work, his "Constitutional Law of the United States," his "Life of John C. Calhoun" and his "Life of John Brown" are his principal publications. A very intense man himself, he did not always find it easy to admire that quality in others.

Of the leaders of the French Revolution he approved chiefly of Mirabeau. He felt deep sorrow over the Spanish War and its consequences, as being detrimental to republican institutions.

A full notice of him may be found in "Warner's Library," vol. 19, page 7,496.

His connection with this Society dates from 1882.

**Leslie Stephen**, a member of this Society since 1901, died Feb. 22, 1904. He was born in London, Nov. 28, 1832, and was educated at King's College, London, and at Trinity Hall, Cambridge.

From 1864 to 1872 he was engaged in editorial pursuits, and then took charge of the "Dictionary of National Biography"; a highly important work, the first twenty-six volumes of which were published under his charge. He was the author of several books on miscellaneous subjects, as well as biographies of Pope, Swift, Johnson and Henry Fawcett, and he issued an edition of Fielding. For a time he held the Clark Lectureship on English Literature at Cambridge.

His first wife was a daughter of William M. Thackeray. As a critic he stood in the first line, impartial and of sound judgment. The "Atlantic Monthly" published a series of reminiscences by him, giving a graphic description of a publisher's trials with authors.

With John Bright and others he favored the Union cause in the Civil War, and came over here that he might understand the issue and the temper of the parties.

**Henry Walbridge Taft** was born on Nov. 13, 1818, and died in Pittsfield, Mass., Sept. 22, 1904.

After a short period of newspaper work he studied law, and was admitted to the bar in 1841, practising in West Stockbridge till 1853, when he became Register of Probate and moved to Lenox, then the county seat. This office he held two years, and was then appointed Clerk of Courts for Berkshire County, holding this position till 1897, when on account of failing health he declined re-election.

He resided in Pittsfield after that city became the county seat, and in 1881 was elected president of the Third National Bank of Pittsfield, and was its head till death. He was a learned and able lawyer with a broad and analytical mind, had a very sunny disposition, and his long tenure of elective office shows the entire confidence reposed in him. He aided in preparing a new history of his native town of Sunderland, and was also the author of a short history of the early judges of Berkshire County, and gave occasional addresses on kindred topics.

In many ways he showed a friendly interest in this Society, of which he became a member in 1884.

**John Wesley Powell** was born March 24, 1834, and died Sept. 23, 1902, having been a member of this Society since 1898. He studied at Illinois and Wesleyan Universities and Wheaton and Oberlin Colleges, supporting himself by teaching.

He enlisted in the Civil War as a private and became Lieutenant-Colonel in the Second Illinois Artillery, and lost an arm at Shiloh, but soon returned to his duties. After the war he was a college professor for a short time, and in 1867 led an exploring party through the then unvisited Grand Canon of the Colorado river. Congress then ordered a survey of this river and the Rocky mountain region, under his leadership. During this expedition he developed a plan of irrigating that arid district, which was accepted by Congress after a long conflict.

In 1879 the U. S. Geological survey was organized as a part of the Department of the Interior, Mr. Powell being placed at the head of the new Bureau of Ethnology as a part of the Smithsonian Institution, and the next year he became the head of the survey also, holding this position till 1894. His reports are said to have been the



handsomest and most valuable productions of the government.

He was a member of many American and foreign scientific societies, and was also an associate editor of Johnson's "Universal Cyclopedia." He stands as very near the first in the several lines of scientific work in which he engaged.

A good notice of him may be found in "Science," N. S., Vol. XVI., No. 411, page 782, which has also been published in pamphlet form.

**Egbert Coffin Smyth** was born in the college town of Brunswick, Maine, on August 24, 1829. His father, Professor William Smyth, D.D., long and conspicuously identified with Bowdoin College as the occupant of the chairs of mathematics and natural philosophy, had begun teaching in that college in 1823 and had entered upon the duties of a full professorship the year before the birth of his eldest son, the subject of this sketch. In 1827 the young professor had married Miss Harriet Porter Coffin, whose family name was preserved in the second Christian name given in baptism to their boy in 1829. The family in which that boy had his early training was one of scholarly habits, of strenuous thought upon the political and ethical questions so prominent in the three decades which preceded the Civil War, and of earnest and Christian character; and in this atmosphere of scholarship, high-minded ethical zeal, and sincere piety, the boy grew to young manhood. The son of a professor in a college town, it was natural that his education should begin early and that he should be ready for college at a time when most boys have not yet completed their preparation. His training, aside from that which came to him from the atmosphere and instruction of the home, was in the schools of Brunswick, and then for a year before his entrance on college, at Dummer Academy, a scholastic foundation dating from 1756, situated in the village of Byfield in Massachusetts, which always retained a warm place in his affection, and of which he was an interested and devoted Trustee from 1892 to his death. From the Academy he entered Bowdoin College and graduated just as he was reaching the age of nineteen, in 1848. Among his classmates he bore the reputation of a quiet, unpreten-

tious and modest man, of thorough and accurate scholarship. They noted his wide reading, especially in English literature, and his promise as a writer. Somewhat reserved and shy in making acquaintances, they found in him a true and warm-hearted friend, when once those barriers were penetrated, and a loyal and devoted companion in all their common interests. His scholarship was conspicuous, he being one of the four leaders of the class whose rank was considered practically equivalent.

Mr. Smyth's graduation from college was followed by a year of teaching in the school at Farnington, New Hampshire; but his abilities had already attracted the attention of the officers of Bowdoin; and, in 1849, he was called to a tutorship in his alma mater, an office which involved, at that time, wide and varied instruction of the undergraduates. But, meanwhile, his interest in the study of theology had developed; and on the completion of his term of office as instructor at Bowdoin, in 1851, he entered the Congregational Theological Seminary at Bangor, Maine, completing the course of instruction there in preparation for the Christian ministry two years later.

From these studies he was called, in 1854, to take up the work of a professorship of rhetoric at Bowdoin; but he had no intention of abandoning the ministerial profession. In connection with his duties as an instructor at the college he pursued the study of theology as a "resident licentiate" in Andover Seminary from 1854 to 1855. On July 22, 1856, he was ordained at Brunswick; but he did not enter on a pastorate. The same year he was transferred by the Trustees of his alma mater from the chair of rhetoric to the Collins professorship of natural and revealed religion,—an office which not only involved the instruction of students in Christian truth, but brought him into personal and almost pastoral relations to the whole student body. The post was one which had been occupied by men of power and of a high degree of personal magnetism,—its first incumbent having been Prof. Calvin E. Stowe, afterwards of the Faculty of Andover Theological Seminary, whose wife was to give the most widely read contribution to American literature that the period previous to the Civil War produced. Mr. Smyth's immediate predecessor in the professorship had been Rev. Dr.

Roswell Dwight Hitchcock, afterwards long prominently identified with Union Theological Seminary in New York. To succeed two men of such gifts and eminence was an extremely difficult task, and Prof. Smyth's shyness and reserve made the contrast all the more marked between him and his immediate predecessors. But his thoroughness of scholarship, his transparent honesty of purpose, and his character as a man, commanded the full respect of the students who came under his instruction; and it was with credit to himself and helpfulness to them that he discharged the duties of the professorship for the next six years.

On August 12, 1857, soon after entering on the duties of the chair just mentioned, Mr. Smyth married Miss Elizabeth Bradford Dwight, daughter of Rev. Dr. William Theodore Dwight of Portland, Maine, thus beginning a union of unusual mutual helpfulness, which was to last almost to the close of his life. Mrs. Smyth's death on February fourth of the present year preceded that of her husband by little more than two months. While a professor at Bangor, Mr. Smyth issued, in 1858, his first publication, entitled, "Three Discourses on the Religious History of Bowdoin College during the Administrations of Presidents McKeen, Appleton, and Allen," in which he illustrated that interest alike in matters of history and of religion which was to fit him later for service as a teacher of Church history.

Though highly valued as a teacher in his own college, Professor Smyth desired to pursue the studies in theology and history to which he had long been devoted, under more favorable opportunities than the cares of a professorship permitted, and to fit himself for instruction of a more highly specialized character. Accordingly he laid down his office in 1862, and for the next year studied in Germany at Berlin and Halle. His repute as a rising scholar, led, however, in 1863, to a call to the Brown professorship of ecclesiastical history in Andover Theological Seminary, and to his acceptance of the office which he was to hold with conspicuous usefulness and honor to the end of his life, more than forty years later.

The early part of Prof. Smyth's long incumbency at Andover was relatively uneventful. His thorough scholar-

ship, his candor and his unaffected and sincere Christianity won him the confidence of his students, and his abilities, as well as his position, led him to increasing prominence in the concerns of the Congregational churches. His growing scholarly repute was recognized by the bestowment upon him of the degree of D.D., by Bowdoin College in 1866, and by Harvard University, twenty years later; and in 1902, by the further degree of LL.D., from his alma mater. From 1874 to 1877, he was an overseer of Bowdoin College, an office which he exchanged in the year last mentioned, for the trusteeship, which he continued to hold until his death. From 1870 till 1888, he was one of the Board of Trustees of Abbott Academy, the well-known institution for the instruction of young women, in Andover. His connection with Dummer Academy has already been mentioned. On April 27, 1870, he was chosen a member of this Society, and on October 21, 1880, became one of its Council, continuing in that office as long as he lived. His services are well known and held in grateful recollection by us all. His interest in the general progress of historical investigation in America led to his membership in the American Historical Association, and his attention to the history and genealogy of New England was honored by election as a member of the New England Historic Genealogical Society, on November 2, 1881, and of the Massachusetts Historical Society on December 14 of the following year. On October 7, 1875, he was chosen a member of that ancient Congregational Missionary Society, the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, and began service in the same year as a member of the Prudential Committee which has immediate charge of the administration of its affairs. On that Committee he served for eleven years, until 1886; but his membership in the Board continued till the end of his life.

One evidence of his interest in historical studies may be seen in his publication, in connection with Rev. C. J. H. Ropes, of the translation of Uhlhorn's "Conflict of Christianity with Heathenism," in 1879. But, attracted as he was, always, to the investigation of the origins of Christianity, and its doctrinal development during the first three centuries, his knowledge of New England ecclesi-

astical story was even more profound, and he studied with the utmost painstaking, in especial, all that had to do with the life or contributions to theology of Jonathan Edwards, of whom his wife was a direct descendant, and whose manuscripts were, in considerable numbers, in his possession. No man had a more thorough comprehension of, and it may be added, a deeper spiritual sympathy with this greatest of New England theologians, than Prof. Smyth. It is to be regretted that no more extensive fruits of his studies regarding Edwards were presented to the world. But the introduction and appendix with which he added to the value of the manuscript of Edwards's "Observations Concerning the Scripture Economy of the Trinity and Covenant of Redemption," when he brought that treatise to light, and published it, in 1880; his papers on "Some Early Writings of Jonathan Edwards, A. D. 1714-1726," in the Proceedings of this Society for October, 1895, and "Jonathan Edwards's Idealism," in the American Journal of Theology for October, 1897; his address entitled, "Influence of Jonathan Edwards on the Spiritual Life of New England," delivered at the unveiling of the memorial erected in 1900 by the First Church in Northampton; and his study on the "Theology of Edwards," presented at the celebration of the two-hundredth anniversary of that theologian's birth, at Andover, on October 5, 1903,—all of which have fortunately been published,—are among the contributions of most permanent value to the understanding of the theological development of this chief among the ecclesiastical leaders of colonial New England.

Prof. Smyth was essentially a man of peace, a modest and retiring scholar, but he was a man, also, of great tenacity and firmness of purpose and of determination to stand for what he conceived to be truth and duty, at whatever cost. It was his lot to be a principal figure in one of the most heated theological disputes of recent American religious history. The age in which we live has been one witnessing, to a degree equalled by no other since the Reformation, rapid and extensive changes in theological thought; and it was the fortune of Andover Seminary to be among the first of institutions connected with the more conservative of American religious denominations to feel those influences which have resulted so generally in

the modification of the theological conceptions prevailing half a century ago. That Prof. Smyth was himself above others a leader in that modified theology or sympathized to the full with alterations of view which approved themselves to some of his colleagues, it would be untrue to say. But he stood loyally in fellowship with his associates in the Faculty of the Theological Seminary of which he was an ornament, and he held, with positiveness of conviction, to the right of freedom in the investigation and expression of Christian truth. Feeling that the time called for fresh discussions of Christian theology and life, he joined, in 1884, with his colleagues, in founding and editing the "Andover Review," a publication of great value and significance for New England theology, the course of which, extending only a little over a decade, was all too short.

His connection with this theological journal brought to him the chief crisis of his professorial history. Its utterances were received with disfavor by the more conservative leaders of New England Congregationalism, and the result was that on June 23, 1886, formal complaint was made by four of the alumni of Andover Theological Seminary, against five of the professors of that institution, headed by Prof. Smyth, and all of them editors of the "Andover Review." As a result of this complaint, and under the peculiar constitution of Andover Seminary, the professors charged with unorthodoxy of opinion were brought to trial before the "Board of Visitors" of the Institution, and by the refusal of one of the three members of that Board to vote in the case of any of the accused save Prof. Smyth only, he was adjudged to have offended, and was removed from his professorship, though common, and undoubtedly correct, rumor, had it at the time that he was not the author of the articles against which most exception had been taken. Prof. Smyth, however, accepted to the full the editorial responsibility which he shared with his colleagues, and the result was that the case was appealed to the Supreme Court of Massachusetts,<sup>1</sup> before which it was argued by eminent counsel. By this judicial tribunal it was found that error had been committed by the Board of Visitors in their original trial, and the case was

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<sup>1</sup> Smyth v. Phillips Academy, 157 Mass., 551.

returned to them for a new consideration. But meanwhile, the personnel of the Board of Visitors had been altered by death, and on reopening the hearing, on September 6, 1892, the Board of Visitors without adjudging Prof. Smyth acquitted of the charges brought against him, gave him a practical acquittal by dismissing the case as the most desirable conclusion of the controversy, in view of the antiquity of the complaint and the general nature of the circumstances of the situation. To Prof. Smyth this decision brought a complete cessation of all serious attack upon his theological position, or upon the right of freedom of utterance, which he had so vigorously defended for himself and for his colleagues.

Contemporaneously with this Andover discussion ran similar controversies in the American Board regarding missionary appointments, in which Prof. Smyth bore his full share as was his right as a corporate member of that missionary society, in defense of larger freedom; and it was with great gratification that he saw the end of the controversy result in the practical tolerance of his position,—a conclusion reached at the meeting of the Board, in 1893, which inaugurated its more modern policy.

Throughout these years of controversy, Prof. Smyth bore himself with firmness, conviction, patience and courage; and their general result must have been one in which he took much satisfaction. From their conclusion onward his life was peaceful and serenely undisturbed. Engaged in the duties of his professorship, as far as his strength permitted; interested in doctrinal questions, especially those pertaining to the early history of Christianity, to the person of Christ, and the doctrine of the Trinity; eagerly devoted to all that would illustrate the development of the religious growth of New England and to the thought of its leaders, especially of the eighteenth century,—he went on to a serene old age in his pleasant home on the hilltop at Andover, till in February, 1904, he was met by the great sorrow occasioned by the death of his wife, who had been his companion for nearly forty-seven years. His own strength had much abated; he was, nevertheless, engaged in research among the manuscripts of Jonathan Edwards, and full of plans of larger publications concerning the life of this favorite of his studies, when death overtook him, after a brief illness, on April 12, of this year.

A quiet, reserved, modest, unassuming gentleman, he will be greatly missed, nevertheless, from our companionship, and from all associations with which he was connected, for his sterling qualities of heart, his thorough scholarship, his kindliness, and his manly Christian character.

A bibliography of his publications, for which the writer is largely indebted to the Rev. William L. Ropes of Andover, includes the following titles:—

"Three Discourses upon the Religious History of Bowdoin College during the Administrations of Presidents McKeen, Appleton and Allen," Brunswick, Me., 1858, 80 pp.; "The Nature of Evangelical Faith," *Bibliotheca Sacra*, vol. XVII, 1860, p. 494; "The Duty of Congregationalism to Itself," an address before the Massachusetts General Conference, 1865, 12 pp.; "Our Country not Forsaken of God," a sermon to the students of Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Me., 1866, 26 pp.; "Sketch of the Life and Ministry of William T. Dwight, D.D.," Boston, 1869, 50 pp.; "From Lessing to Schleiermacher, or from Rationalism to Faith," Boston Lectures, 1870; "Value of the Study of Church History in Ministerial Education," Andover, 1874, 31 pp.; "Sermon at the Dedication of the New Chapel in Andover Theological Seminary," Andover, 1876, 30 pp.; "Sketch of Rev. Seth Sweetser, D.D.," (reprinted from *The Congregational Quarterly*), Boston, 1878, 27 pp.; "The Conflict of Christianity with Heathenism," by Dr. Gerhard Uhlhorn, translated by Professor Smyth and Prof. C. J. H. Ropes, New York, 1879, 508 pp.; "Observations Concerning the Scripture Economy of the Trinity and Covenant of Redemption," by Jonathan Edwards, edited, with introduction and appendix, by Professor Smyth, New York, 1880, 97 pp.; "The Change of the Sabbath to the Lord's Day," pp. 214-237 of "Sabbath Essays," edited by Rev. Will C. Wood, Boston, 1880, VII., 440 pp.; "Recent Excavations in Ancient Christian Cemeteries," Worcester, 1882, 30 pp.; "Address at the Funeral of Rev. Dr. John Lord Taylor," Andover, 1884, 16 pp.; "Progressive Orthodoxy," of which he was joint author with others, Boston, 1886, 258 pp.; "The Construction and First Occupancy of Fort Dummer, and a Conference with the Scatacook Indians Held There," Boston, 1891, 23 pp.; "The French-Canadians in New



England," Worcester, 1891, 21 pp.; "The Divinity of Jesus Christ" (joint author), Boston, 1893, VIII., 233 pp.; "Some Early Writings of Jonathan Edwards, A. D. 1714-1726" (from "Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society"), Worcester, 1896, 39 pp.; "The Greek Liturgies," in *Christian Worship, Ten Lectures*, New York, 1897; "Jonathan Edwards's Idealism," in the *American Journal of Theology*, October, 1897; "The Prevalent View in the Early Church of the Purpose of the Death of Christ," Boston, 1900, 24 pp.; "Influence of Jonathan Edwards on the Spiritual Life of New England," pp. 33-48 of "Jonathan Edwards: A Retrospect," edited by H. Norman Gardiner, Boston, 1901, XVI., 168 pp.; "Mary Griffin and her Creed" (from "Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society"), Worcester, 1902, 18 pp.; "The Theology of Edwards," pp. 75-93 of "Exercises Commemorating the 200th Anniversary of the Birth of Jonathan Edwards held at Andover Theological Seminary," Andover, 1904.

By the death of Professor Smyth, which occurred on April 12, 1904, this Society lost one of its most faithful and valued members.

W. W.

**Benjamin Franklin Stevens**, born Feb. 19, 1833, was the tenth of eleven children of Henry Stevens of Barnet, Vermont, and Candace (Salter) Stevens.

Henry Stevens was a sturdy, hard-working, self-taught and practical man. His son Henry wrote that "he was a farmer, an inn-keeper, a mill-owner, a landlord and a Squire by courtesy of Stevens' village, an antiquarian and a book collector." His home was the resort of the intelligent, and "he died leaving his house full of books and historical manuscripts, the delight of his youth, the companions of his manhood and the solace of his old age."

He was the founder of the Vermont Historical Society and its first president. Two of his sons, Henry and Benjamin Franklin, became noted book collectors. When only fourteen years old, the latter spent several months in Albany in copying historical manuscripts for his father, at that early age beginning the work of research and

transcription for which he afterwards became famous. After time given to preparatory education at home and in an academy, young Stevens entered the University of Vermont in Burlington, but his health failed during the first year of his college life and he had to leave his course unfinished. Although a great worker throughout life, he was always hampered by a tendency to ill health.

It is well known that Benjamin Franklin Stevens's older brother Henry was an accomplished bibliographer and an antiquary. He had an establishment in London which was a centre from which he furnished many wealthy book collectors in the United States with rare and choice old books. He was early employed by Sir Anthony Panizzi, the head of the British Museum, to hunt up desirable works. One result was that, after he had continued his labors for a series of years, the Museum could boast of owning as large and valuable a library of American books as could be shown by any institution in the United States. Henry Stevens was not only an authority upon American books and literature relating to America, but also upon Bibles. He was a student, and in his department a scholar, as well as a bookseller.

The elder Henry Stevens had cultivated the natural aptitude of his younger son Benjamin for a similar kind of work, and had probably looked forward to a time when he would assist his brother. In 1859 we find him buying American books in this country and shipping them to Henry in London. Soon, however, he goes to London himself, arriving there July 9, 1860, and, joining his brother, worked under his direction. He was early employed in making an elaborate catalogue of the library of the great scientist, Alexander von Humboldt, which had been bought by Henry Stevens. That catalogue seems to have been completed, although it has apparently passed out of sight. The library itself, it will be remembered, was destroyed by fire in the rooms of Sotheby & Wilkinson, to which it had been removed for disposition by auction. Soon after going to London, Horatio Gates Somerby and Benjamin Stevens occupied rooms together. The former was a close friend of George Peabody and his trusted adviser and agent; he was often at their rooms and Stevens enjoyed the privilege of close intercourse with him.

In 1864 Benjamin Stevens started in business in London for himself, taking his brother Simon into partnership, they having made an arrangement with Henry to buy a portion of his connection and stock. This partnership lasted only a year or two. Afterwards Benjamin continued in business, and the shop which he occupied in Trafalgar Square is well remembered by book lovers who have visited London.

In 1865 Stevens married Charlotte, the eldest daughter of Charles Whittingham, well known from his connection with the famous Chiswick Press,<sup>1</sup> in the conduct of which he was a partner of William Pickering. For several years Benjamin Stevens was a partner in this famous undertaking.

In 1866 Mr. Stevens was made Despatch Agent of the American Government in London, a position which he held until his death. "This office," as has been said, "is one of great responsibility and appertains to both the State and the Navy Departments, while the duties, which are many, consist of receiving and forwarding official correspondence and other official matter to and from the State Department in Government despatch bags. In addition to this, the agent receives and forwards the official and private correspondence and other matter for the United States warships on the European and other stations and to other U. S. warships and training ships when visiting Europe, or passing through the Mediterranean to and from the far East." These duties brought Mr. Stevens into official and personal contact with many distinguished men, including the United States ministers to Great Britain and France. His office in Trafalgar Square was one of the principal headquarters of Americans in London. As agent of the United States government, he had to go to the continent often, as, for instance, when he had to carry despatches to our representative in France while Paris was in the hands of the Commune. He spent a few days there while shells burst near his horse and carriage.

Mr. Stevens, besides being a bookseller and agent, for over thirty years, of American book collectors, was an

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<sup>1</sup> A history of this press was printed in a limited edition in one of the publications of the Grolier Club, New York.

accomplished bibliographer like his elder brother, and had a fondness for antiquarian and genealogical research. He did very valuable service in transcribing from European archives manuscripts relating to the history of the United States. Witness, for example, his famous work in twenty-five folio volumes, "Facsimiles of Manuscripts in European Archives Relating to America," a collection of documents illustrative of American history during the Revolution.

An account was given of his greatest work, "Catalogue Index of Manuscripts in the Archives of England, France, Holland and Spain, Relating to America, 1763 to 1783," in the Report of the Council of this Society, read at its semi-annual meeting in April, 1904.

Mr. Stevens died on March 5, 1902, and his widow died July 22, in the following year. They were buried at Kensal Green in the same grave with Mrs. Stevens's father, Charles Whittingham.

The brothers Henry and Benjamin Stevens were always staunch Americans. The former spoke of himself as a Green Mountain boy and not infrequently put the words G. M. B. after his name, as a title. Benjamin Stevens was equally patriotic, and always retained a warm affection for the home of his boyhood and for his father and mother, with whom he kept up a frequent correspondence during their lives. He remembered, too, his relatives and the companions of his early years. He had a pretty place at Surbiton, not too far from London, and when it became his property he changed its name to "The Sheaves," the name of his father's home in Barnet. He found in this place satisfaction for his strong love of nature and for his great interest in gardening. He had wild and cultivated plants, shrubs and trees sent to him from his old home in Vermont to plant in his garden, and took great delight in his nearness to these acquaintances and friends of his boyhood.

A student of Mr. Stevens's life is sure to be impressed by the amount of work which he did. He was steadily busy, but labored quietly and accomplished much. It is said that a favorite proverb of his was, "Do nothing without consideration, but when you have done anything repent not." He was a man of marked public spirit and of geniality and strength of character. The latter qualities

made him sought for as an arbiter, and successful in such a capacity. He was very social. Henry Stevens and his brother Benjamin were scholars and gentlemen, like the Plantins and other old printers and publishers.

A Memoir of Benjamin Franklin Stevens, by G. Manville Fenn, was privately printed in London at the Chiswick Press, in 1903. From that work the particulars of his life given in this sketch have been mainly taken.

Mr. Stevens became a member of this Society, October 21, 1896.

S. S. G.

For the Council,

EDWARD E. HALE,  
NATHANIEL PAINE.

**ABORIGINAL LANGUAGES OF NORTH AMERICA.****BY EDWARD E. HALE.**

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I WILL avail myself of the privilege of supplying the semi-annual report of the Council, to present to the younger members of the Society a review of the work which this Society has done in the special department which involves the study of the aboriginal languages of North America. If I repeat some suggestions which I have ventured to make at the previous meetings, it must be that it seems desirable that such work of the Society now for nearly a century should be understood and a record of it made which can be easily referred to.

It is undoubtedly true that as our population advances and the histories of different states of America assert themselves with more vigor, the particular study of the aborigines fills a less important part in American history than it did when the American Antiquarian Society was founded. At that time Isaiah Thomas showed in more ways than one his interest in the native tribes and their history, and special reference is made to the study of those tribes in the papers which belong to the history of the birth of the Society. Our third Librarian, Mr. Baldwin, lost his life by an accident which occurred when he was on a visit in Ohio for the study of the Indian remains in that state then so young. The first volume of the Society's Transactions, published in 1820, reprints Father Hennepin's papers on La Salle's voyage, and makes extracts from other documents referring to studies among the native Indians of what was then still called the West. The principal papers are Mr. Caleb Atwater's and Dr. Mitchill's. True to the reputation thus acquired and to all the traditions

of the Society, the second volume of our *Archæologia*, published in 1836, is devoted almost entirely to Mr. Gallatin's treatise on the Indian tribes and their languages. An obituary notice of Mr. Baldwin, who had recently died, is the only paper in that volume which does not relate entirely to the natives of the country. It is fair to say that this report of our associate, Mr. Gallatin, made a distinct forward step in the pathway which had been opened by Mr. Du Ponceau about twenty years before.

There is a rather curious similarity between the lives of these two great men. Du Ponceau was a Frenchman who left his own country and became an American in that French enthusiasm for America which was typified in the life of Lafayette. He arrived in this country in 1777 and was on the staff of Steuben. Gallatin was a Swiss, and with the same enthusiasm arrived in Machias, Maine, on the fourteenth of July, 1780. Each of them became a citizen of America, and each of them is identified with the earliest philosophical study, excepting John Eliot's, of the languages of the natives. As early as 1819, in a paper of Du Ponceau read before our associates of the Philosophical Society, Du Ponceau discovered to the world for the first time the remarkable character of the aboriginal languages from Greenland to Cape Horn. That paper of his challenged the attention of the philologists of Europe, and gave an importance to the study of dialects of different tribes and to languages absolutely distinct in their vocabulary from each other, which they had never seemed to deserve before. In the meanwhile, Mr. Gallatin, in the duty which he discharged as Secretary of the Treasury of the United States, had taken advantage of that position to collect from different Indian agents and other officers of the government at the West, information with regard to the languages spoken in different parts of the country. When he retired from public office his tastes as a scholar and especially as a philologist

asserted themselves again, and he prepared his remarkable Synopsis of the Indian Tribes. The directors of our Society were glad to assume the publication of this treatise, and from that day to this, it has been the central textbook of students of aboriginal languages. In that synopsis he prints a large map of the United States, and for his purpose divides the native tribes among the Eskimaux, the Athapascas, the Algonquian-Lenape, the Iroquois, the Cherokees, the Creeks, the Choctas and Chicacas, the Sioux, the Black Feet, and the Pawnees,—a classification which has proved sufficiently convenient to maintain its place in discussions on the subject.

The settlement of California and Alaska has shown that neither he nor anyone else apprehended the great number of vocabularies in the American languages. A very curious paper on this subject, by Mr. Horatio Hale, has shown the existence of nearly fifty vocabularies entirely distinct from each other north of Guatemala. Gallatin, however, Du Ponceau, and the other early students knew well that while the grammar of the American languages is the same from the Arctic Ocean to Cape Horn, an entire divergence would be found in the vocabularies. For instance, not a single word of our New England language was intelligible to the Iroquois of New York, nor was one word of their language intelligible to our Narragansetts or Mohegans; and since this observation was made, it has thrown new light on the nomad excursions of Indian tribes and their establishment in regions quite dissimilar to their old homes. Our learned associate Mr. Bartlett, in 1860, found the Apaches of the arid region of western America speaking the language of Athapascas which Richardson had already studied on the Arctic Ocean.

The most interesting single observation, perhaps, brought forward by Mr. Gallatin, was his discovery to the world that the Algonquian language, of which one dialect was spoken in Massachusetts, ranged farther than any



other among the native languages known to him. Indeed, the northwestern range of the Algonquian language is not yet accurately fixed. It is so easy for a family or a clan to emigrate a thousand miles under the simple arrangements of the Indians, that the philologist finds to his surprise a dialect which seems far from its own home. Mr. Gallatin, thus early, found Algonquian languages in Labrador. It had long been known that the language of eastern Virginia and of North Carolina was intelligible to our people in Massachusetts, and his map carries it as far as the headwaters of the Mississippi. It is worth while to say this, because it seems probable that if one gave to the word language a particular range, as for instance, if you class High German and Low German as one language or class, the Languedoc with the Italian language, you would class the Massachusetts Indians and the Indians of Labrador with the Powhatan Indians and the Chippewa Indians.<sup>1</sup>

Mr. Wilberforce Eames, of the Lenox Library, prepared what is for us the invaluable bibliography of the Eliot literature. No work of the kind has ever been more carefully done. Mr. Pilling's vocabulary of the Algonquian languages fills more than six hundred pages. Mr. Eames's titles of John Eliot's work alone covers a tenth part of this great volume, and besides this there are contributions right and left to the literature of different sub-departments which really relate to the great central work of Eliot.

It is nearly three hundred years since a few words of the Algonquian language were put into print in the fourth

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<sup>1</sup> And in fact, as I believe I have said here before, when I gave to a Chippewa boy, a student at Hampton, a list of thirty words of the Massachusetts language, he brought the list back to me next day after conference with his fellow students, and among them they had given the correct definition to each of our words. In many instances they were antiquated and as unintelligible as some words in Chaucer would be to the children in our grammar schools. But the little club of Indian students had been able to interpret them all. I found our word *succotash*, for instance, in use among the Ojibwas west of Lake Superior, although they no longer make *succotash* from corn and beans, but they substitute the buds of the white pine.



volume of Purchas's *Pilgrimes*.<sup>1</sup> Since that time a considerable literature of the Algonquian has accumulated. Of this we are fortunate in having a very complete account in the valuable volume of Mr. Pilling. It is much the largest bibliography of any of the native languages of North America; and I think no South American language can rival it in extent, certainly, none can in any study of the subject like Mr. Pilling's and Mr. Eames's. It would be difficult to guess even, with any degree of accuracy, what number of people now use it in daily intercourse.<sup>2</sup> It is nearly certain that no one in Massachusetts, of the native blood, can speak a word of it. The late Mrs. Mitchell and Mrs. Robinson, ladies who were thought to be descendants of King Philip, retained a few words, but it is said that their descendants have none. Till quite lately aged documents in the Gay Head dialect were used in the transfer of estates,—may now be perhaps; and Mr. Barton will show the manuscript correspondence in one or other of the Massachusetts dialects.<sup>3</sup>

But when we go outside our own jurisdiction, in Nova Scotia, in eastern Maine and in Canada and Wisconsin and Minnesota, there is no lack of people who know no other language. The great Ojibwa tribe, which our school books called Chippeway, extends more than one thousand miles from east to west, and almost as many from north to south. Our learned countryman, Mr. Gilfillan, the author of "The Ojibway," knows his Ojibway as well as any gentleman who hears this report knows English. His friend the late Bishop Whipple said of him, "Gilfillan

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<sup>1</sup> Curiously enough in the original edition of Rosier the vocabulary does not appear.

<sup>2</sup> I should say that more than 150,000 people do. But there are men who have a better right to guess than I who would not rate the number so high, while others would rate it higher.

<sup>3</sup> It is possible that there may be living at Gay Head some Indians who can speak some words of it. There are none at Mashpee and there are none in the Narragansett Country, as I am assured by my neighbors. My summer home is in Narragansett.

dreams in Ojibway." When Mr. Gilfillan read to a body of Ojibwa gentlemen the Lord's Prayer from Eliot's Bible, they did not at the first moment understand what he was reading. But then some familiar phrase caught their attention, they unravelled, so to speak, the "archaisms" and changes of pronunciation, and recognized every word in one form or another.

When, therefore, it is carelessly said sometimes that Eliot's Bible is a wretched monument of the waste of uniting industry and learning, the remark simply implies that the speaker does not know what he is talking about. Eliot's Bible is the most important book in the literature of a great race, now almost extinct, and, if you please to think so, to be extinct in another century. But it is a perfect example of a system of grammar which proves to be more complete in detail than any of the grammars of any language known in Europe. Its study indeed involves considerations in philological science, the value of which is not yet comprehended. As a vehicle only for the study of language, therefore, Eliot's Bible is a central book of the first importance.

It is with the greatest pleasure that the Council is able to announce the appointment by the Directors of the Carnegie Institution of Mr. William Jones, to the special duty of studying the Algonquian language, and we may hope that before long we may have at hand the results of his studies and investigations. Mr. Gilfillan has taken up his residence in Washington, and as may be hoped will be able to publish the results of his life-long intimacy with the Ojibwas. Rev. Mr. Wright, known familiarly as "Indian Wright" at the College at Oberlin, to distinguish him from another eminent professor of the same name, will be able to favor the philologist with the results of his studies of forty years. We will not then regard Mr. Trumbull's book as work upon a dead language.

It is an interesting question whether provision may

not be made for preserving in the future the knowledge of a tongue which has been spoken in regions more widely parted than the provinces of the Roman Empire. Our friend Dr. Horsford enriched the library at Wellesley College with his choice collection of Eliot literature. Is there not some Mæcenas who will endow a fellowship or scholarship there, which may provide for the instruction in the Algonquian language of one or two young women, at the age when people learn languages easily. Let their lives be insured that they may live to be four-score and ten. Let them every year make Algonquian fashionable among the young ladies of their time. Let the familiar phrases for *très bien, comment vous portez-vous?* of Mohegans and Pequots and Nipmucks, become familiar among the young ladies of 1910 and 1920. Let an adequate acquaintance with the language of the Charles River be made requisite for initiation into the secret societies. Then our successors, as they celebrate the Landing of Columbus, in October, 2004, as they look with friendly eye on Mr. Trumbull's Dictionary, will thank us for the care with which the Society of today has edited Mr. Trumbull's contribution to the literature and history of mankind.

The publication of Mr. Trumbull's Dictionary has already stimulated interest in the whole group of the Algonquian-Lenape languages. The people who speak in different forms of that language are scattered between Labrador and Alaska. It would be fair to say that the Algonquian-Lenape is now spoken over a larger territorial range than the Latin language ever commanded as a living tongue. If, however, this interesting language, so complete in its grammar as to challenge the wonder of all philologists, is to be carefully studied, even by a few students, we ought to have in a convenient form, for instance, one or two text-books. Such a book as fills a little part of this requisition is the reprint of Eliot's Primer which can be readily purchased in Edinburgh, and which our

booksellers will soon have at hand if any demand for it should be created. This was reprinted by Mr. Andrew Elliot in Edinburgh in 1877. It could be wished, however, that one of our school-book publishers would put in modern type and print, perhaps, one of the Gospels from Eliot's Bible, the working part of Roger Williams's Key to the Indian Languages. It is hardly the business of the Antiquarian Society to reproduce the school-books of today, but the Council ventures to express the hope that a popular edition of these facilities for the study of the Massachusetts language may be furnished by some enterprising publisher. An edition, to speak of one of such books, of Mr. Trumbull's Indian Names of Places, etc., in and on the Borders of Connecticut, would do for popular use, even among amateurs in language.

## REPORT OF THE TREASURER.

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THE Treasurer of the American Antiquarian Society herewith submits his annual report of receipts and expenditures to October 7, 1904.

There has been carried to the several funds from the income of the past year, five per cent. on the amount of the same October 1, 1903, leaving a balance in the Income Account of \$146.94.

For the first time since he has had charge of the funds of the Society he regrets to be obliged to report a loss of \$1,000. Nearly two years ago the Citizens National Bank of Worcester went into voluntary liquidation, and it was found, to the great surprise of the stockholders, that the stock was practically worthless, and it was considered fortunate that they were not called upon for an assessment on their stock. It is proper to state that this stock had been owned by the Society for more than fifty years, and had up to about two years ago, paid very satisfactory dividends.

Unfortunately the Finance Committee had no opportunity to dispose of the stock before the liquidation of the bank was known. It is gratifying to note, however, that the market value of our stocks and bonds is several thousand dollars over the amount carried on the books of the treasurer. The total amount of securities and cash as shown is \$149,867.87, the market value of which is over \$13,000 more.

The total of the investments and cash on hand October 7, 1904, was \$149,867.87. It is divided among the several funds as follows :

|   |              |
|---|--------------|
| The Librarian's and General Fund, . . . . . | \$34,586.48  |
| The Collection and Research Fund, . . . . . | 17,029.93    |
| The Bookbinding Fund, . . . . .             | 7,432.20     |
| The Publishing Fund, . . . . .              | 31,061.75    |
| The Isaac and Edward L. Davis Book Fund, .  | 13,400.68    |
| The Lincoln Legacy Fund, . . . . .          | 6,329.15     |
| The Benj. F. Thomas Local History Fund, . . | 1,157.00     |
| The Salisbury Building Fund, . . . . .      | 5,480.35     |
| The Alden Fund, . . . . .                   | 1,000.00     |
| The Tenney Fund, . . . . .                  | 5,000.00     |
| The Haven Fund, . . . . .                   | 1,564.50     |
| The George Chandler Fund, . . . . .         | 476.76       |
| The Francis H. Dewey Fund, . . . . .        | 4,346.98     |
| The George E. Ellis Fund, . . . . .         | 15,910.26    |
| The John and Eliza Davis Fund, . . . . .    | 3,476.43     |
| The Life Membership Fund, . . . . .         | 2,350.00     |
|   | <hr/>        |
|   | \$150,602.47 |
| Income Account, . . . . .                   | 146.94       |
| Premium Account, . . . . .                  | 118.46       |
|   | <hr/>        |
|   | \$150,867.87 |
| Less loss on Bank Stock, . . . . .          | 1,000.00     |
|   | <hr/>        |
|   | \$149,867.87 |

The cash on hand, included in the following statement, is \$891.59.

The detailed statement of the receipts and disbursements for the year ending October 7, 1904, is as follows :

*DR.*

|  |             |
|--|-------------|
| 1903. Oct. 7. Balance of cash per last report, | \$1,033.94  |
| 1904. " 7. Income from investments to date,    | 7,339.88    |
| " " Life membership, . . . . .                 | 150.00      |
| " " Received for annual assessments,           | 175.00      |
| " " From sale of publications, . . .           | 11.50       |
| " " From premiums on stocks and bonds,         | 440.00      |
| " " From pay't of note and stocks, .           | 440.00      |
| " " Sundry items, . . . . .                    | 2,150.00    |
|  | <hr/>       |
| Total, . . . . .                               | \$11,740.32 |

*CR.*

|  |                    |
|--|--------------------|
| By salaries to October 6, 1904, . . . . .  | \$4,025.70         |
| Publication of Proceedings, etc. . . . .   | 975.95             |
| Books purchased, . . . . .                 | 665.95             |
| For binding, . . . . .                     | 536.18             |
| For heating and lighting, . . . . .        | 154.35             |
| Invested in stocks and bonds, . . . . .    | 4,352.47           |
| Premium on stock and bonds, . . . . .      | 134.66             |
| Incidental Expense, . . . . .              | 8.47               |
|  | <hr/>              |
|  | \$10,848.78        |
| Balance of cash October 7, 1904, . . . . . | 891.59             |
|  | <hr/>              |
|  | <u>\$11,740.32</u> |

## CONDITION OF THE SEVERAL FUNDS.

*The Librarian's and General Fund.*

|  |             |
|--|-------------|
| Balance of Fund, October 6, 1903, . . . . .      | \$36,595.65 |
| Income to October 6, 1904, . . . . .             | 1,829.80    |
| Transferred from Tenney Fund, . . . . .          | 250.00      |
| "    "    Alden Fund, . . . . .                  | 50.00       |
| From Life Membership Fund, . . . . .             | 110.00      |
|  | <hr/>       |
|  | \$38,834.95 |
| Paid for salaries and incidental expenses, . . . | 4,248.47    |
|  | <hr/>       |
| Balance October 7, 1904, . . . . .               | \$34,586.48 |

*The Collection and Research Fund.*

|  |             |
|--|-------------|
| Balance October 6, 1903, . . . . .                                   | \$16,865.30 |
| Income to October 6, 1904, . . . . .                                 | 843.25      |
|  | <hr/>       |
|  | \$17,708.55 |
| Expenditure from the Fund for salaries and<br>incidentals, . . . . . | 678.62      |
|  | <hr/>       |
| Balance October 7, 1904, . . . . .                                   | \$17,029.93 |
|  | <hr/>       |
| Carried forward, . . . . .   | \$51,616.41 |



1904.]

*Report of the Treasurer.*

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*Brought forward, . . .* **\$51,616.41**

*The Bookbinding Fund.*

Balance October 7, 1903, . . . . . **\$7,245.13**  
Income to October 6, 1904, . . . . . **862.25**

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**\$7,607.38**

Paid for binding, etc., . . . . . **175.18**

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Balance October 7, 1904, . . . . . **\$7,432.20**

*The Publishing Fund.*

Balance October 7, 1903, . . . . . **\$30,512.22**  
Income to October 6, 1904, . . . . . **1,514.85**  
Publications sold, . . . . . **11.50**

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**\$32,038.57**

Paid on account of publications, . . . . . **976.82**

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Balance October 7, 1904, . . . . . **\$31,061.75**

*The Isaac and Edward L. Davis Book Fund.*

Balance October 7, 1903, . . . . . **\$12,772.72**  
Income to October 6, 1904, . . . . . **638.60**

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**\$13,411.32**

Paid for books purchased, . . . . . **10.64**

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Balance October 7, 1904, . . . . . **\$13,400.68**

*The Lincoln Legacy Fund.*

Balance October 7, 1903, . . . . . **\$6,027.75**  
Income to October 6, 1904, . . . . . **301.40**

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Balance October 7, 1904, . . . . . **\$6,329.15**

*The Benjamin F. Thomas Local History Fund.*

Balance October 7, 1903, . . . . . **\$1,198.35**  
Income to October 6, 1904, . . . . . **59.65**

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**\$1,258.00**

Paid for local histories, . . . . . **96.00**

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Balance October 7, 1904, . . . . . **\$1,157.00**

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*Carried forward, . . . .* **\$110,997.19**

*Brought forward, . . .* \$110,997.19

*The Salisbury Building Fund.*

|                                      |            |
|--------------------------------------|------------|
| Balance October 7, 1903, . . . . .   | \$5,219.40 |
| Income to October 6, 1904, . . . . . | 260.95     |
|                                      | <hr/>      |
|                                      | \$5,480.35 |

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|------------------------------------|------------|
| Balance October 7, 1904, . . . . . | \$5,480.35 |
|------------------------------------|------------|

*The Alden Fund.*

|                                      |            |
|--------------------------------------|------------|
| Balance October 7, 1903, . . . . .   | \$1,000.00 |
| Income to October 6, 1904, . . . . . | 50.00      |
|                                      | <hr/>      |
|                                      | \$1,050.00 |

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|--|-------|
| Transferred to Librarian's and General Fund, . | 50.00 |
|  | <hr/> |

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|------------------------------------|------------|
| Balance October 7, 1904, . . . . . | \$1,000.00 |
|------------------------------------|------------|

*The Tenney Fund.*

|                                      |            |
|--------------------------------------|------------|
| Balance October 7, 1903, . . . . .   | \$5,000.00 |
| Income to October 6, 1904, . . . . . | 250.00     |
|                                      | <hr/>      |
|                                      | \$5,250.00 |

|  |        |
|--|--------|
| Transferred to Librarian's and General Fund, . | 250.00 |
|  | <hr/>  |

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|------------------------------------|------------|
| Balance October 7, 1904, . . . . . | \$5,000.00 |
|------------------------------------|------------|

*The Haven Fund.*

|                                      |            |
|--------------------------------------|------------|
| Balance October 7, 1903, . . . . .   | \$1,596.96 |
| Income to October 6, 1904, . . . . . | 79.85      |
|                                      | <hr/>      |
|                                      | \$1,676.81 |

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|---------------------------|--------|
| Paid for books, . . . . . | 112.81 |
|                           | <hr/>  |

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|------------------------------------|------------|
| Balance October 7, 1904, . . . . . | \$1,564.50 |
|------------------------------------|------------|

*The George Chandler Fund.*

|                                      |          |
|--------------------------------------|----------|
| Balance October 7, 1903, . . . . .   | \$521.99 |
| Income to October 6, 1904, . . . . . | 26.60    |
|                                      | <hr/>    |
|                                      | \$548.59 |

|   |       |
|---|-------|
| Paid for Genealogical Publications, . . . . . | 71.88 |
|   | <hr/> |

|                                    |        |
|------------------------------------|--------|
| Balance October 7, 1904, . . . . . | 476.76 |
|------------------------------------|--------|

|                                   |              |
|-----------------------------------|--------------|
| <i>Carried forward, . . . . .</i> | \$124,518.80 |
|-----------------------------------|--------------|

1904.]

*Report of the Treasurer.*

319

*Brought forward, . . .*

\$124,518.80

*The Francis H. Dewey Fund.*

Balance October 7, 1903, . . . . . \$4,274.75

Income to October 6, 1904, . . . . . 108.75

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\$4,378.50

Paid for books, . . . . . 81.52

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Balance October 7, 1904, . . . . . \$4,346.98*The George E. Ellis Fund.*

Balance October 7, 1903, . . . . . \$15,849.88

Income to October 6, 1904, . . . . . 767.50

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\$16,117.38

Paid for books, . . . . . 207.12

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Balance October 7, 1904, . . . . . \$15,910.26*The John and Eliza Davis Fund.*

Amount of Fund, October 7, 1903, . . . . . \$3,402.86

Income to October 6, 1904, . . . . . 170.10

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\$3,572.46

Paid for books, . . . . . 96.08

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Balance October 7, 1904, . . . . . \$3,476.48*The Life Membership Fund.*

Balance October 7, 1903, . . . . . \$2,200.00

Income to October 6, 1904, . . . . . 110.00

Life membership, . . . . . 150.00

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\$2,460.00

Transferred to Librarian's and General Fund, . . . . . 110.00

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Balance October 7, 1904, . . . . . \$2,350.00

Total of the sixteen funds, . . . . . \$150,602.47

Balance to the credit of Income Account, . . . . . 146.94

" " " " Premium Account, . . . . . 118.46

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\$150,867.87

Less loss on Bank Stock, . . . . . 1,000.00

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October 7, 1904, total, . . . . . \$149,867.87

## STATEMENT OF THE INVESTMENTS.

| STOCKS.                             | Amount<br>Invested. | Par<br>Value. | Market<br>Value. |
|-------------------------------------|---------------------|---------------|------------------|
| Fitchburg National Bank, . . . .    | \$600.00            | \$600.00      | \$900.00         |
| First National Bank, Boston, . .    | 500.00              | 800.00        | 675.00           |
| Nat. Bank of Commerce, Boston, .    | 3,200.00            | 3,200.00      | 4,672.00         |
| Old Boston Nat. Bank, Boston, . .   | 300.00              | 300.00        | 318.00           |
| Quinsigamond Nat. Bank, Worc.,      | 2,400.00            | 2,400.00      | 3,360.00         |
| Webs. & Atlas Nat. Bank, Boston,    | 1,800.00            | 1,800.00      | 2,530.00         |
| Worcester National Bank, . . . .    | 1,600.00            | 1,600.00      | 2,200.00         |
| Worcester Trust Co., . . . . .      | 675.00              | 300.00        | 675.00           |
| Fitchburg R. R. Co., Stock, . . .   | 5,000.00            | 5,000.00      | 6,750.00         |
| Northern (N. H.) R. R. Co., Stock,  | 3,000.00            | 3,000.00      | 4,900.00         |
| Worcester Gas Light Co., " . . .    | 900.00              | 800.00        | 1,340.00         |
| West End St. Ry. Co. (Pfd.) " . .   | 1,250.00            | 1,250.00      | 1,375.00         |
| N. Y., N. Haven & Hart. R. R., " .  | 9,387.61            | 5,500.00      | 10,500.00        |
| Worc. Ry. & Investment Co., " . .   | 10,000.00           | 10,000.00     | 8,500.00         |
| Boston Tow Boat Co., . . . . .      | 1,000.00            | 1,000.00      | 1,000.00         |
| Boston & Phila. Steamship Co., " .  | 2,000.00            | 2,000.00      | 2,600.00         |
| Atchison, Top. & Santa Fé R.R., " . | 700.00              | 1,110.00      | 850.00           |
| Mass. Gas Light Co., . . . . .      | 2,900.00            | 3,500.00      | 2,900.00         |
| Am. Telephone & Telegraph Co., " .  | 3,100.00            | 2,000.00      | 2,800.00         |
| Old South Building Trust, . . . .   | 1,000.00            | 1,000.00      | 1,000.00         |
|                                     | <hr/>               | <hr/>         | <hr/>            |
|                                     | \$51,292.61         | \$46,660.00   | \$61,345.00      |

## BONDS.

|  |              |              |              |
|--|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| Atchison, Tope. & Santa Fé R. R. Co.,      |              |              |              |
| Gen. Mortgage, 4 per cent., . .            | \$1,540.00   | \$2,000.00   | \$2,000.00   |
| Adjustable, 4 per cent., . . . .           | 885.00       | 1,000.00     | 1,000.00     |
| Kan. City, Ft. Sc. & Gulf R. R., . .       | 3,300.00     | 3,300.00     | 3,597.00     |
| Chicago & East. Ill. R. R. 5 per cent.,    | 10,000.00    | 10,000.00    | 11,400.00    |
| City of Quincy Water Bonds, 4 p. ct.,      | 4,000.00     | 4,000.00     | 4,040.00     |
| Congress Hotel Bonds, Chic., 6 p. ct.,     | 5,000.00     | 5,000.00     | 5,000.00     |
| Low., Law. & Hav. St. Ry. Co., 5 per ct.,  | 8,620.00     | 9,000.00     | 9,118.00     |
| Worc. & Marl. St. Ry. Co., 5 per cent.,    | 3,000.00     | 3,000.00     | 3,000.00     |
| Wilkes Barre & East. R.R. Co., 5 per ct.,  | 2,000.00     | 2,000.00     | 2,130.00     |
| Ellicott Square Co., Buffalo, 5 per cent., | 5,000.00     | 5,000.00     | 5,250.00     |
| Worc. & Web. St. Ry. Co., 5 per cent.,     | 2,000.00     | 2,000.00     | 2,100.00     |
| American Tel. & Tel. Co., 4 per cent.,     | 7,000.00     | 7,000.00     | 6,600.00     |
| Crompton & Knowles L'm W'ks, 6 p. ct.,     | 4,000.00     | 4,000.00     | 4,200.00     |
| Union Pacific R. R. Co., Com., 4 p. ct.,   | 6,000.00     | 6,000.00     | 6,000.00     |
| Chic., Cin. & Louisville R.R., 4½ per ct., | 1,000.00     | 1,000.00     | 1,000.00     |
|  | <hr/>        | <hr/>        | <hr/>        |
| Carried forward, . . . . .                 | \$114,637.61 | \$110,960.00 | \$127,780.00 |

1904.]

*Report of the Treasurer.*

321

*Brought forward*, . . . \$114,637.61 \$110,960.00 \$127,780.00

|  |          |          |          |
|--|----------|----------|----------|
| Hoosier Equipment Co., 5 per cent.,    | 5,000.00 | 5,000.00 | 5,000.00 |
| Père Marquette R. R. Co., 4 per cent., | 5,000.00 | 5,000.00 | 5,000.00 |

|  |              |              |              |
|--|--------------|--------------|--------------|
|  | \$124,637.61 | \$120,960.00 | \$137,780.00 |
|--|--------------|--------------|--------------|

|  |           |           |
|--|-----------|-----------|
| Notes secured by mort. of real estate, 24,300.00 | 24,300.00 | 24,300.00 |
|--|-----------|-----------|

|   |       |       |
|---|-------|-------|
| Deposited in Worcester savings banks, 38.67 | 38.67 | 38.67 |
|---|-------|-------|

|   |        |        |
|---|--------|--------|
| Cash in National Bank on interest, . . 891.59 | 891.59 | 891.59 |
|---|--------|--------|

|  |              |              |              |
|--|--------------|--------------|--------------|
|  | \$149,867.87 | \$146,190.26 | \$163,010.26 |
|--|--------------|--------------|--------------|

WORCESTER, Mass., October 7, 1904.

Respectfully submitted,

NATH'L PAINE,

*Treasurer.*

The undersigned, Auditors of the American Antiquarian Society, hereby certify that they have examined the report of the Treasurer, made up to October 7, 1904, and find the same to be correct and properly vouched; that the securities held by him are as stated, and that the balance of cash, as stated to be on hand, is satisfactorily accounted for.

A. G. BULLOCK.

BENJAMIN THOMAS HILL.

October 17, 1904.

## REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN.

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THE first librarian's report in the New Series of the Society's Proceedings was prepared for the annual meeting of October, 1880, by Samuel Foster Haven, LL.D., beloved both as scholar and librarian. It was followed in April and October, 1881, and April and October, 1882, by my own as assistant librarian. From April, 1883, to October, 1903, inclusive, I have submitted a *semi-annual* report for your consideration. This is the first annual report under the vote of the Council, October 20, 1903, "That the librarian be permitted to make his report annually unless he has occasion to send in a special communication."

Your attention has been called from time to time to the weak and the strong departments in our storehouse of American history. It is desired that in this report these facts may be grouped as they appear in the light of today. A brief statement under each of the book funds is therefore offered. Two funds existed when the present librarian entered your service, April 1, 1866: The Librarian's and General Fund, to be used for the purchase of books as well as for the purposes suggested by its name; and the Collection and Research Fund, to be used primarily as its title indicates, but also for the increase of the library and cabinet.

The Isaac and Edward L. Davis Fund was established by Colonel Davis of our Council in January, 1868, and increased by his son, Councillor Edward L. Davis, in April, 1891. It was originally designed to secure printed matter relating to North America south of the United States; but Colonel Davis, at the request of the assistant libra-

rian, extended the field by allowing the word North to be stricken out. While thus far Spanish North America has been given the preference, much South American history in English, French and Spanish has been added to the Davis Spanish-American alcove. The large amount now available need not be expended hastily, but a special effort should be made in home and foreign markets to supply our needs in Cuban, Hawaiian, Panamaian, Philippine and Porto Rican history.

The Benjamin F. Thomas Local History Fund was not established until February, 1879; but Judge Thomas had been interested in this department of history for many years and had added thereto material of marked value. His special purpose, which was to strengthen our collection of the local histories of New England, was fostered by occasionally supplying him with lists of those needs. This fund, which bears the name of a Vice-President of the Society, who was a grandson of its founder, should be liberally increased as a memorial to one of the Society's brightest and best friends.

The Haven Fund, established by one of the great librarians of America, has been used for the purchase of the best contributions to the history of our country. Works of this class—many of them author's copies—have been transferred to the Haven alcove by the widow of Dr. Haven, who kindly holds the remainder of his library subject to the pleasure of the Society.

The Chandler Fund though small has added for twenty years to the alcove of family history many books which are now out of the market and therefore very difficult to secure. By the sale of copies of the second edition of Dr. Chandler's history of the Chandler Family, a limited amount has been added to the fund. There remain ninety-four copies of this volume, which should yield about one thousand dollars. We need a large fund to keep up this popular department of the library, to which additions

can be made to the best advantage, generally, when fresh from the press. For instance, the Kellogg Genealogy, recently ordered, was published at \$12.00. The price soon advanced to \$15.00, and it is now held at \$20.00.

For the past fifteen years the unique Francis H. Dewey Fund has added to the alcove of biography, the lives of leading judges and other lawyers, with specimens of their productions. This broad and interesting field would bear further cultivation.

The income of the George E. Ellis Fund has secured for us the past year much-needed genealogies as well as American history in its larger forms. This fund is in its provisions "a movable feast."

The creation of the John and Eliza Davis Fund, for the purchase of books relating to the Civil War of 1861-1865, was both a filial and a timely act. We still need a book-plate, with the portraits of the Governor and Senator and his esteemed wife, to place in all books which have been or which may be bought with this fund.

As our treasurer is also a member of the committee on the library, all lists of books desired have been submitted to him by the librarian, and orders have been sent through him. The arrangement has proved satisfactory to both officers.

The desire to have as few separate funds as possible is natural, but the arguments in their favor are not far to seek. The special book-plate is an object lesson with a suggestive mission to all library users. In this connection I recommend the establishment of funds for the enrichment of our collection of newspapers of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, and for the purchase of encyclopedic literature.

The inclusive nature of our gatherings thus far has been one of our strong points, bringing to us expressions of gratitude from many sources. And so your librarian ventures the hope that it may not be necessary to close



any avenue of approach to the various departments of our treasure-house. When our collector-librarian Christopher C. Baldwin, early in the nineteenth century, secured every page possible of matter printed in or relating to America, he built better than he knew. And while he did not live to prepare his intended list of such publications, he made it necessary for Sabin, Eames, Evans, Nichols and many another bibliographer to visit our Mecca for information not elsewhere to be found. The careful historian or student of history has given us the spirit of the times by here examining early contemporary authorities before drawing his conclusions. Our name will always suggest the wide field we are called upon to cover.

The Society's delightful home for the past fifty years is rapidly becoming too small for the proper care and classification of the current accessions. We look forward with confidence to a new fire-proof home, with ample grounds, well lighted, well heated, well ventilated, not necessarily ornate nor in the heart of the city. Meanwhile, as no further outer enlargement of Antiquarian Hall seems possible, what interior improvements in the way of space-giving may be considered? I submit briefly: *first* a second gallery in the main hall, the iron and woodwork to conform to what is already there, thus carrying out the original plan of Thomas A. Tefft, the distinguished architect; *second* the enlarging of the present stack by carrying it to the ceiling; and *third* the stacking of the attic hall for classes of books and newspapers for which at present there is little demand. This upper hall rests firmly upon four substantial brick walls and is otherwise supported.

A limited amount of shelf-room has been secured in the main hall by the presentation of about two hundred volumes to the Worcester County Law Library, our next-door neighbor on Court Hill. The transfer to this library, so rich in legal lore, was made 19 May, 1904, after a check

list of some five hundred titles had been examined by deputy librarian George E. Wire for text-books needed. The library cards representing this valuable gift have been retained for ready reference. The stack room has been relieved of a large collection of duplicate, illustrated magazines by a gift to the Worcester Woman's Club for use in their summer schools. Later this literature was prepared by the children for use in the city hospitals. The disposition of the remainder of the second edition of Dr. Pliny Earle's "Curability of Insanity"—three hundred copies of which were left us for wise distribution—has given added shelving in the newspaper room. Correspondence with the Librarian of the United States Surgeon-General's office and with the Secretary of the Association of Medical Librarians, has revealed the best outlet for this notable work, as will appear by the following letter.

BROOKLYN, N. Y., September 6, 1904.

EDMUND M. BARTON,  
Librarian American Antiquarian Society,  
Worcester, Mass.

My dear Sir:—

In behalf of the Executive Committee I beg to convey to you the thanks of the Association for your kind offer to send by freight to this office the remainder of the edition of Dr. Pliny Earle's book. We shall be very glad to receive the same and distribute among our members and such others as may seem desirable in accordance with your wishes.

Very truly yours,

ALBERT S. HUNTINGTON,  
*Secretary.*

In answer to the above, the shipment was made 17 September, 1904, and the receipt duly acknowledged.

In a personal letter of the same date Secretary Huntington—who is also Librarian of the Medical Society of the County of Kings—writes: "Thank you for your postscript to your letter in regard to the distribution by the Association of Medical Librarians of Dr. Pliny Earle's book, in which you give me some interesting notes about Dr. Earle and the disposition of his library and estate.

If you ever get crowded for room and wish to dispose of the neurological journals and asylum reports which he gave to your Society, just let me know!"

In the Treasurer's report of 10 October, 1902, is the following: "By a vote of the Council the sum of \$1,000 was appropriated from the Lincoln Legacy Fund, to be expended at the discretion of the Committee of Publication for the purpose of the production of a comprehensive guide to the material for American history in the public repositories in London, especially to the manuscript material. This work was begun under the direction of our associate Prof. J. F. Jameson of Chicago, and the sum of \$278.50 has been used from the appropriation." Further light upon this work appears in the following letter from Dr. Andrew C. McLaughlin, Director of the Bureau of Historical Research of the Carnegie Institution:

February 13, 1904.

My dear Sir:—

Mr. Dexter has, I believe, written you suggesting that the slips prepared by Miss Kimball and showing the American historical material from British archives that is accessible in print should be turned over to me as director of the bureau of historical research of the Carnegie Institution. Senator Hoar, whom I have seen, sees no objection to such disposition. It is my purpose to use these slips in connection with a *Guide to American Material in British Archives* which is now preparing in London under our direction. Of course proper credit and recognition and thanks would be given the American Antiquarian Society in the book which we hope to get out.

If you will be so good as to send the material to me I shall be glad to arrange it and utilize it soon.

With thanks for your interest and attention, I am,

Sincerely yours,

A. C. McLAUGHLIN.

Mr. BARTON.

By direction of the Library Committee and for the purpose above declared, the slips were shipped 16 February, 1904, to the Carnegie Institution at Washington, D. C. On 19 February, 1904, Dr. McLaughlin acknowledged their receipt with many thanks and the hope that a very helpful report would be the result of the transfer.

On the third of last February, a blank form for the personal record of members, for permanent preservation,

was sent to all members foreign and domestic. It is also mailed with the roll of members to each newly elected associate. About one-half of the total membership has already responded; namely seventy-five of the one hundred and thirty-nine members in the United States and eight of the twenty-six foreign members: eighty-three in all. It will facilitate the preparation of the new roll of members and insure its accuracy, if the other eighty-two associates will make answer at an early day. It is the desire of the Committee of Publication and of the librarian to keep in touch with every individual member; but several communications mailed to foreign members have been returned, suggesting possible death or removal.

An historical society rich in material and wise in administration has recently issued the following suggestive appeal:

**DO NOT DESTROY BOOKS, PAMPHLETS, MAGAZINES, OR  
NEWSPAPER FILES.**

The Wisconsin State Historical Library, at Madison, can utilize them all. Its collections are already large, and quite likely some of these articles now in your possession may be in the Society's library; but that fact need not deter you from sending them in—all duplicates can readily be used, either in exchange with other large libraries or as gifts to the smaller libraries throughout the State. Nothing of value is ever wasted; the Society, co-operating with the State Free Library Commission, acts as a library clearing house for Wisconsin. *Telephone or write to the Secretary*, if you can spare any printed matter in your possession—if in Madison, a package-delivery man will be sent for the articles; if out of Madison, send by freight or express, according to the size of package, at the Society's charge for transportation.

Our experience approves the inclusive call, especially for newly organized bodies and those having plenty of space available for such deposits.

Rev. Dr. Hale has kindly called our attention to a notice of Rev. Dr. William Bentley's library, on page 212 of *The Weekly Messenger* (Boston), in the volume for 1819-20.

I recommend that when the order is given for added cases for our card catalogue, one may be secured for the manuscript room in anticipation of the card catalogu-

ing of our material relating to the War of the American Revolution.

The placing of double windows on the north and east sides of the Hall, added greatly to the comfort of our guests and the library force during the severe winter of 1903-4.

The sources of gifts for the year ending October 15, number four hundred and nineteen, namely: from forty members, one hundred and seventy-seven persons not members, and two hundred and two societies and institutions. We have received from them twenty-four hundred and eleven books, ten thousand and fifty-one pamphlets, two bound and one hundred and forty-three volumes of unbound newspapers, eighteen engravings, sixteen portraits, sixteen maps, sixteen broadsides, eight photographs, four coins, two medals, one bust and a collection of manuscripts; by exchange two hundred and thirty-five books and twenty-four pamphlets; and from the bindery one hundred and forty-seven volumes of magazines,—a total of twenty-seven hundred and ninety-two books, ten thousand and seventy-six pamphlets, two bound and one hundred and forty-three volumes of unbound newspapers, *etc.*

The gifts of Mr. Charles P. Bowditch bear internal evidence of his continued aid in the preparation and publication of valuable linguistic and archæological literature.

The value of many of the gifts of our beloved Vice-President, George F. Hoar, was enhanced by the letters accompanying them. Following is his last:

WORCESTER, MASS., May 6, 1904.

My dear Mr. BARTON:—

I send you for the Society, first, an engraving of the portrait of John Bellows which his neighbors in Gloucestershire have had painted and placed in the Tolsey, or City Hall, of Gloucester.

Second. I send a very curious and interesting figure of a friar made with his own hands by José Rizal, the Filipino patriot who was executed by the Spanish shortly before our late Spanish War. The figure represents a friar with a gross sensual countenance, with a bottle in his hand, and a picture of a woman and some other accompaniments, intending to represent his sensual character. This bust was given me

by an eminent Filipino whose name I cannot now recall, but who was Rizal's friend from youth and who studied with him in Spain.

Third. I send a portrait of Rizal which was given me, I think, by Sexto Lopes. But of that I cannot be sure. It was given me by some one of the eminent Filipinos. On the back of this photograph is a translation of the beautiful poem written by Rizal, in Spanish, the night before his execution, when, as he knew well, his early and cruel death was at hand. Perhaps you may think it worth while to have a copy made of this poem, as it is not accessible now, to be kept with the other things.

I am, with high regard, faithfully yours,

GEORGE F. HOAR.

EDMUND M. BARTON, Esq.,  
Librarian, American Antiquarian Society,  
Worcester, Massachusetts.

The various book funds established by our members have been drawn upon more freely than for many years, but the returns have been very satisfactory.

Hon. George M. Curtis has presented an important letter from Daniel Webster, with autographs of the period of our Civil War.

We have received from the Estate of Dr. Pliny Earle a collection of books and pamphlets, with twenty-three volumes of his note books or diaries, covering from 1863 to 1891, and a volume of his letters written from Europe, Cuba and Washington, from 1837 to 1845 inclusive. Much of the correspondence connected with his Earle Genealogy, and many of his diplomas and commissions, are included in this important gift.

The gift of Mr. Lucius P. Goddard includes a file of *The Saturday Dial*, a royal quarto published by his relative, Mr. G. P. Goddard at Columbus, Ohio, on May 7, 14, 21 and 28, 1887. The last three issues contain the important papers of Mr. A. A. Graham on "Céleron's March, or the Lead Plate Claim of France to the Valleys of the Ohio." The only one of these plates which has been traced is now in the cabinet of this Society; a second—which was for a time in West Virginia—having disappeared. In our *Archæologia Americana*, volume 2, article 3, is a "Description of a Leaden Plate or Medal, found near the mouth of the Muskingum, in the State of Ohio, by

DeWitt Clinton, LL.D." Following an introductory note, by the Publishing Committee, is a partially successful effort to show in type what remains of the inscription upon our mutilated plate. Governor Clinton's "Description," &c., which is dated Albany, 24 October, 1827, and is addressed to The President and Members of the American Antiquarian Society, includes a letter from Caleb Atwater, Esq., Circleville, Ohio, May 15, 1821. The character and number of the Céleron plates will best appear in a paragraph or two from Mr. Graham's first paper: "The expedition was provided by Gallisoniere with a number of lead plates, each about three inches long, seven and one-half inches wide, and one-eighth inch thick. On each was an inscription in French, engraved or stamped in capital letters; blanks being left for the insertion of the name of the rivers at the confluence of which with the Ohio, they were to be placed, and the dates of their deposit. On the reverse of each plate was the name of the artist or engraver, Paul de Brosse. Six of these plates are mentioned in Céleron's journal; one was stolen by the Indians and taken to Governor Clinton of New York. Whether there were more than the seven thus mentioned cannot be decided."

We have received from Mr. Charles Henry Hart his "Paul Revere's Portrait of Washington," reprinted from the Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, December, 1903. Referring to the Abraham Weatherwise Almanack of 1781, in which the supposed Revere's Washington is found, he says: "The title-page of the almanac mentions 'a large and beautiful copperplate [frontispiece] representing a picturesque view of Great Britain' as an embellishment. I have been able to find but five copies of the Weatherwise Almanack for 1781, and unfortunately not one of them has the beautiful copperplate, an inspection of which might show the name of Paul Revere as its engraver, which fact would be strong persuasive proof that the type-metal portrait of Washington in the almanac

was by the same hand." A foot note states that the five copies are "in the Library of the Massachusetts Historical Society, first and second editions; in the Public Library of Boston, and in the collection of Mr. E. B. Holden of New York; the latter the one photographed." A copy of this rare almanac containing the rarer copperplate "A Picturesque View of the State of Great Britain for 1780" is in the library of this Society; but a careful examination under the glass fails to reveal the name of the engraver. However, the last line has been cut from the explanatory text and possibly with it the desired identification.

The information contained in the following letters is thought worthy of preservation in print. The restored portrait to which reference is made, hangs at the head of the main hall stairway.

Colonel Higginson writes:

29 Buckingham St., CAMBRIDGE,  
January 12, 1904.

Dear Mr. BARTON:—

I find among my papers this letter from the elder Stephen Salisbury, which you may like to preserve, as fixing the time and circumstances of the arrival of the picture of Francis Higginson (or supposed to be such), at your library. My brother was the genealogist of our family and was a very natural medium for the transmission of the picture, which is, you are perhaps aware, one of three copies, the others being in Salem and Boston. Mr. Haven, as you may remember, always maintained it to be a portrait of F. H., although many regarded it as too old in appearance. I am not sure whether the faded *date* upon the State House copy had then been discovered; but I have always thought it more probable that somebody added the questionable date than that there should have been no correct tradition on the subject preserved in Salem; or that Dr. Bentley (from whom I think your copy came to you), should have made such a blunder. Perhaps it will never be quite cleared up.

Very truly yours,

THOMAS WENTWORTH HIGGINSON.

And President Salisbury's letter which is so kindly presented reads:

WORCESTER, July 24, 1882.

Dear Sir:—

According to your favor of 7th inst. the "Portrait," which can only be intended for the revered Francis Higginson, was safely received at the Hall of the American Antiquarian Society and the Society will feel their obligation to you and other descendants, who



have generously taken care that their ancestor should appear well to posterity in his person as well as in his transmitted qualities.

It will be interesting and important if you will inform us when and where such portraits as those of Higginson, Endicott and other similar ones were made.

I am much obliged and sincerely yours,

STEPHEN SALISBURY.

WALDO HIGGINSON, Esq.,  
Cohasset, Mass.

I note that the number of the Proceedings of the Massachusetts Grand Lodge of Ancient Free and Accepted Masons, for December 29, 1903, recently received, contains tributes to Isaiah Thomas, their Past Grand Master and our founder.

On April 26, 1854—fifty years ago—Rev. James Davie Butler, LL.D., then of Cincinnati, Ohio, but now and for many years of Madison, Wisconsin, began his service as a faithful member of this Society. The anniversary recalls a suggestive remark of Dr. Samuel Foster Haven, that membership in the American Antiquarian Society is a sufficient life insurance!

In the Society's set of *The American Magazine of Useful and Entertaining Knowledge*—the first number of which was issued in July, 1834, by the Boston Bewick Company—is the following entry: "For the Library of the American Antiquarian Society from John Langdon Sibley, Editor, from page 289 of vol. 3d. Among the earlier editors were Alden Bradford, the historian and the Secretary of State of Massachusetts and Nathaniel Hawthorne, author of 'Twice Told Tales.' Rev. Horatio Alger contributed several articles of the 3d volume." On page 129 of the number for November, 1834, is a wood cut of the "Hall of the American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass," and its surroundings as they appeared in the days of William Lincoln and Christopher C. Baldwin. The article which accompanies the illustration was probably from the pen of the historian Bradford, who was doubtless familiar

with the Hall and its treasures. Following is the statement:

"This building is pleasantly situated in the village of Worcester, Mass. The central part was erected in 1819 and '20, and dedicated on the 24th of August of the latter year. The wings were added in 1821. The whole building is of brick and is the liberal donation of the late ISAIAH THOMAS, LL.D. to the Society.

"The Society was organized in 1812, and held its first meeting at the Exchange Coffee House, in Boston, November the 19th of that year. Its officers are annually elected on the 23d of October, that being the day on which Columbus discovered America. The first anniversary meeting of the Society was held at Boston, October 23d, 1813, when an address was delivered in King's Chapel by the Rev. William Jenks, D.D. There are now two meetings of the Society in each year; the first on the 23d of October and the second on the last Wednesday of May. The objects of the institution are the collection and preservation of American Antiquities. It was the intention of its founder and munificent patron, Mr. Thomas, that its library should embrace as perfect a collection of American literature as possible. No institution has proposed the accomplishment of a similar object, and the general preference given in our libraries to European over American books had prevented in a great measure the collecting of them, only to a limited extent. It seemed very desirable that a remedy for an evil of this description should be provided. So little care had been taken for the preservation of the productions of our early American authors, that many of them were found with extreme difficulty, while others were irrecoverably lost. By the establishment of an institution of this character, a convenient receptacle would be provided for the early as well as for modern literature of the country, and when its objects should be generally known, individuals possessing books, pamphlets, maps or manuscripts might have a convenient place to deposit them, where they might be useful to the public. Interesting materials of the history of the country are profusely scattered in every town, which have never yet found a place in any of our public libraries. It is among the principal objects of this institution to collect

and preserve these as well as all the productions of American authors.

"Besides providing the Society with a spacious building for the accommodation of its library and cabinet, Mr. Thomas also gave it between four and five thousand volumes of books, illustrating the history of the country, as well as many rare and interesting specimens of early printing. He also provided the Society with a fund for the permanent support of a librarian, and otherwise richly endowed the institution with the means of making annual purchases of books, and for needed incidental expenses.

"The library of the Society now contains between ten and twelve thousand volumes, and is more rapidly increasing than at any former period. Visitors can have easy access to it, and it is always open to such as have occasion to use books. As it is not local in its objects, but general or national, and from the means it possesses of making itself useful to the public, it must in a few years, rank among the largest as well as the most interesting public libraries of the country."

Respectfully submitted,

EDMUND M. BARTON,

*Librarian.*

## **Libers and Gifts.**

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### **FROM MEMBERS.**

- BARTON, EDMUND M., Worcester.—Four pamphlets; ten photographs; and two magazines, in continuation.
- BAXTER, HON. J. PHINNEY, Portland, Me.—His "New England," an address before The Old Planters' Society, Salem, Mass., April 7, 1903; and "Portland Benevolent Society, 1803-1903," containing the address of President Baxter.
- BOWDITCH, CHARLES P., Boston.—"Die Göttergestalten der Mayahandschriften"; and "Codice Mariano Jiminez Nomina de Tributos de los Pueblos Otlazpan y Tepexic."
- BUTLER, JAMES D., LL.D., Madison, Wis.—His "The Vocabulary of Shakespeare."
- CHAMBERLAIN, ALEXANDER F., Ph.D., Worcester.—Thirteen of his publications.
- CHASE, CHARLES A., Worcester.—His "Worcester's North End: The Nathan Patch House, The Henchman Farm"; twenty-six books; fifty-one pamphlets; and five Japanese engravings.
- CHAVERO, ALFREDO, Mexico, Mex.—His "El Monolito de Coatlinchan."
- DAVIS, ANDREW MCF., Cambridge.—Three of his own publications; one book; seventy-nine pamphlets; and three ballads.
- DAVIS, HON. EDWARD L., Worcester.—Seven books; ninety-nine pamphlets; four photographs; and two portraits.
- DAVIS, HON. HORACE, San Francisco, Cal.—"The Perfect Man. Sermon on the death of Hon. John Davis."
- EAMES, WILBERFORCE, New York.—Facsimiles of the Bay Psalm Book; and of John Eliot's Logic Primer, 1st Edition, with introductions by Mr. Eames.
- FRANCIS, GEORGE E., M.D., Worcester.—Three books; and one hundred and fifteen pamphlets.
- GARVER, REV. AUSTIN S., Worcester.—Forty-six books; seventeen pamphlets; and two engravings.
- GILMAN, DANIEL C., LL.D., Baltimore, Md.—Three of his own publications; and four pamphlets.

- GREEN, HON. SAMUEL A., Boston.—His "Ten facsimile reproductions"; eighteen books; one hundred and eighty-seven pamphlets; one engraving; and "The American Journal of Numismatics," in continuation.
- GREEN, SAMUEL S., Worcester.—His report of 1902–1903 as Librarian of the Worcester Free Public Library.
- HALE, REV. EDWARD E., D.D., Roxbury.—Three of his own publications; three books; one hundred and sixty pamphlets; and the United States Weather Bureau Maps, in continuation.
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- HILL, BENJAMIN T., Worcester.—Portrait of Mrs. Theodore Sedgwick.
- HOAR, HON. GEORGE F., Worcester.—Four of his own publications; forty books; ten hundred and thirty-two pamphlets; five portraits; three maps; one medal; one bust; and seven files of newspapers, in continuation.
- HOAR, ROCKWOOD, Worcester.—A collection of early invitations and programmes.
- HUNTINGTON, REV. WILLIAM R., D.D., New York.—His "Twenty Years of a New York Rectorship"; and Grace Church Year Book for 1904.
- LAWRENCE, RT. REV. WILLIAM, D.D., Boston.—His Address May 4, 1904, on "The Cathedral."
- LEÓN NICOLÁS, Ph.D., Mexico, Mex.—"Codice Mariano Jiminez Nomina de Tributos de los Pueblos Otlazpan y Tepexic."
- LOVE, REV. WILLIAM DELOSS, Ph.D., Hartford, Conn.—"Cedar Hill Cemetery, Hartford, Conn., 1863–1903."
- MARSH, HON. HENRY A., Worcester.—One pamphlet.
- MATTHEWS, ALBERT, Boston.—His "Notes on the Proposed Abolition of Slavery in Virginia in 1765."
- MEAD, EDWIN D., Boston.—His "From East Anglia to New England."
- MERRIMAN, REV. DANIEL, D.D., Worcester.—Four pamphlets; and one map.
- PAINÉ, NATHANIEL, Worcester.—Three of his own publications; fifteen books; four hundred and seventy-six pamphlets; three maps; three portraits; three heliotypes; the "Boston Evening Transcript," in continuation; and miscellaneous newspapers.
- PEET, REV. STEPHEN D., Ph. D., Chicago, Ill.—His "American Antiquarian and Oriental Journal," as issued.
- PUTNAM, FREDERIC W., A.M., Cambridge.—His report of 1902–03 on the Peabody Museum of Harvard University.
- RUSSELL, E. HARLOW, *Principal*, Worcester.—Publications of the Massachusetts State Normal School at Worcester.

SALISBURY, HON. STEPHEN, Worcester.—Twenty-six books; seven hundred and eighty-eight pamphlets; four maps; one portrait; and nine files of newspapers, in continuation.

SMITH, CHARLES C., Boston.—His report of 1904 as Treasurer of the Massachusetts Historical Society; and his "Memoir of William S. Appleton."

TEWATTES, REUBEN G., LL.D., Madison, Wis.—His greetings to the Nova Scotia Historical Society, June 21, 1904.

UTLEY, HON. SAMUEL, Worcester.—One pamphlet.

VIGNAUD, HENRY, Paris, France.—His "Route des Indes et les indications que Toscanelli aurait fournies à Colomb."

WALKER, JOSEPH B., Concord, N. H.—His "New Hampshire Covenant of 1774."

WRIGHT, CARROLL D., LL.D., Washington, D. C.—Publications of the U. S. Department of Labor, as issued.

FROM PERSONS NOT MEMBERS.

APPLETON, D., AND COMPANY, New York.—"Appleton's Bulletin," as issued.

APPLETON, WILLIAM S., Boston.—Tributes to William Sumner Appleton.

ATKINSON, EDWARD, LL.D., Brookline.—His "Cost of War and Warfare 1898 to 1904."

BAILEY, REV. FREDERIC W., *Editor*, Worcester.—"Early Connecticut Marriages," fifth book.

BALCH, EDWIN S., *Editor*, Philadelphia, Pa.—"Letters and Papers Relating to the Alaskan Frontier."

BARRY, PHILLIPS, Brookline.—His "Article on the Ballad of Lord Randall."

BARTON, MISS EDITH A., Worcester.—One book; two manuscripts; and one photograph.

BARTON, F. MACDONALD, Worcester.—His "Life of General Rufus Putnam," written for the schools of Sutton, Massachusetts.

BARTON, MISS LYDIA M., Worcester.—"The Association Record," in continuation.

BARTON, MRS. WILLIAM SUMNER, Worcester.—Twelve books; forty-eight pamphlets; seventy-five photographs; six maps; four manuscripts; and three engravings.

BEER, WILLIAM, New Orleans, La.—One pamphlet; and five early Southern newspapers.

BEMROSE AND SONS, London, Eng.—Numbers of "The Reliquary and Illustrated Archæologist."

- BENJAMIN, WALTER R., New York.—"The Collector," as issued.
- BENT, CHARLES M., Worcester.—"Historical Sketch of the time All Saints Parish, Worcester, was without a Church."
- BIGELOW, MRS. SAMUEL L., Worcester.—Three pamphlets.
- BILL, HON. LEDYARD, Paxton.—Rev. Dr. S. H. Howe's Address, August 31, 1904, before the Bill Library Association of Ledyard, Connecticut.
- BLACKISTON'S SONS, AND COMPANY, Philadelphia, Pa.—"The Medical Book News," as issued.
- BLODGET, HON. WALTER H., *Mayor*, Worcester.—His Inaugural Address, 1904.
- BOSTON BOOK COMPANY.—"The Bulletin of Bibliography," as issued.
- BROWN, EDWARD A., Worcester.—His report of 1900, as Treasurer of Worcester County.
- BROWN, HENRY J., London, Eng.—Fenn's "Memoir of Benjamin Franklin Stevens."
- BUTTERFIELD, MRS. DANIEL, New York.—"A Biographical Memorial of General Daniel Butterfield."
- CANFIELD, MRS. PENELOPE L., Worcester.—Seventeen selected books; and "The Army and Navy Journal," in continuation.
- CENTURY ASSOCIATION, New York.—Catalogue of the James Lorimer Graham Library.
- CHAMBERLAIN, PAUL M., Chicago, Ill.—Broadside Pedigree of the Henry Chamberlain Family.
- CHICKERING AND SONS, Boston.—"Commemoration of the Eightieth Anniversary of the Founding of the House of Chickering & Sons."
- CHUBB, PERCIVAL, *Editor*, New York.—Numbers of "The Ethical Record."
- CLARIDGE, G., AND COMPANY, Bombay, India.—"The Religion of the Civilized."
- CLARK, JOHN C. L., Lancaster.—Lancaster Town Reports, 1890-1904.
- CONANT, LEVI L., Ph.D., Worcester.—Worcester Directory, 1900.
- COUSINS, REV. EDGAR M., *Secretary*, Thomaston, Me.—Minutes of the Maine General Conference, 1903.
- CRAFTS, WILLIAM F., Washington, D. C.—Numbers of the "Twentieth Century Quarterly."
- CRISP, FREDERICK A., *Editor*, London, Eng.—Visitation of England and Wales, vol. 10.
- CRITIC COMPANY, New York.—Numbers of "The Critic."
- CROMACK, IRWIN C., Boston.—List of maps of Boston, 1600-1903.
- CURRIER, FESTUS C., Fitchburg.—His "Three Visits to Richmond."
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- DICKINSON, G. STUART, Worcester.—Scott's Standard Postage Stamp Catalogues for 1903 and 1904.
- DIONNE, N. E., Quebec, Canada.—Two pamphlets.
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- GAZETTE COMPANY.—"The Worcester Evening Gazette," as issued.
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- GOODNOW, EDWARD A., Worcester.—"Souvenir Sketch of Edward A. Goodnow."



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- HARRIS, Mrs. JOHN L., Worcester.—Two pamphlets.
- HARRIMAN, Rev. FREDERICK W., D.D., *Secretary*, Windsor, Conn.—Journal of the Convention of the Diocese of Connecticut, 1904.
- HART, CHARLES HENRY, Philadelphia, Pa.—His “Paul Revere’s Portrait of Washington.”
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- HUNTINGTON, ALBERT T., *Editor*, Brooklyn, N. Y.—Numbers of “The Medical Library and Historical Journal.”

- JOHNSON, CHARLES R., Worcester.—His address at Worcester, Mass., January 5, 1904.
- JOHNSON, CLIFTON, Hadley.—His "Old Time Schools and School-Books."
- KING, Gen. HORATIO C., Brooklyn, N. Y.—The Thirty-fifth reunion of the Society of the Army of the Potomac; one pamphlet; and two of his own publications.
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- LAPHAM, Miss JULIA A., Oconomowoc, Wis.—"Name of Lapham given to School in Madison."
- LASHER, GEORGE F., Philadelphia, Pa.—Numbers of the "United States Official Postal Guide."
- LECKY, Mrs. WILLIAM E. H., London, Eng.—A Tribute to the Rt. Hon. William E. H. Lecky.
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- LITERARY COLLECTOR PRESS, New York.—Numbers of "The Literary Collector."
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- LONGMANS, GREEN & COMPANY, New York.—"Notes on Books," as issued.
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- MUNROE & MUNROE, New York.—Numbers of "The Marconogram."
- MUNSON STEAMSHIP COMPANY, New York.—"The Cuba Bulletin," as issued.
- NEW YORK EVENING POST PRINTING COMPANY.—"The Nation," as issued.
- NORCROSS, ORLANDO W., Worcester.—A gilt eagle and a panel from the east room of the White House, Washington.
- NORTH, SAMUEL N. D., *Superintendent*, Washington, D. C.—"The Census Bulletin," as issued.
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FROM SOCIETIES AND INSTITUTIONS.

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- BUNKER HILL MONUMENT ASSOCIATION.—Proceedings of the Association, 1904.
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DETROIT, CITY OF.—“Bi-centenary of the Founding of the City of Detroit, 1701-1901.”

DETROIT PUBLIC LIBRARY.—The Thirty-ninth Annual Report.

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## THE DEVELOPMENT OF DEMOCRATIC IDEAS IN THE PURITAN ARMY IN 1647.

BY CALVIN STEBBINS.

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DURING the early decades of the seventeenth century two tendencies were silently advancing to power over the minds of English-speaking men: one was towards religious, the other towards political, life. These two tendencies, for all practical purposes, acted together and the religious took the lead. Indeed, the political had its origin in the religious, and their united action produced what we call "Puritanism." The movement began in the protest of a loyal and religious people against the absolutism of the priest in the Church; but the priest was supported by the king who practised a parallel absolutism in the State, and the religious tendency was driven to pitch its tents outside of all existing ecclesiastical institutions. Here it organized little congregations of worshipers, independent of each other, each choosing its own lecturer or minister, electing its own officers and making rules for the government of its own body. Under the existing conditions in both Church and State the peace could not be kept, and when war came the progressive spirit found the freest field of development in the army it had created.

One of the most remarkable things in English history is the evolution of the Puritan Army after the Civil War had dragged on for two years and a half. This army, called by its friends the "New Model," by its enemies the "New Noddle," was organized by Sir Thomas Fairfax at Windsor during the early months of 1645. The history of armies is made up of marches, sieges and battles, and

no one would think of speaking of their politics or religion. But the New Model was a peculiar army. It had enough of marches, sieges and battles to make a splendid story. During its first campaign, which extended over thirteen months and a half, it marched near a thousand miles, took thirty-six strongholds and cities, stormed nine fortified houses and towns, and fought seven battles, and Naseby was among them. It captured 1,007 pieces of ordnance, 45,000 stands of arms and 13,125 prisoners. (Sprigg's *Anglia Rediviva*). Brilliant as this record is, perhaps a record unsurpassed in the annals of war, the history of the New Model would be wretchedly incomplete without an account of its politics and religion. Indeed, so important a place did these occupy in its story that to leave them out would be like playing Hamlet without the prince in "inky cloak."

The object aimed at in the organization of the New Model was to create a Puritan chivalry that could beat the Cavaliers in battle. The idea had been developed in a small way in the Sixty-seventh Troop of Horse, attached for a time to the army of the Earl of Essex. This little body of sixty men had increased since the battle of Edgehill (Oct. 23, 1642), to a regiment of fourteen troops of eighty men each, and their captain had become Colonel Cromwell. At Grantham, May 13, 1643, they met a force of three times their number and scattered them like chaff before the wind; at Gainsborough, on the 30th of August, they won a victory in the presence of an army five times their own number; at Marston Moor, July 2, 1644, their superb mount, their splendid physique, the spirit that was in them, the discipline that was over them, which enabled their commander to reorganize them "in the red blaze of battle," not only broke but destroyed the power of the Cavaliers under Rupert himself.

The New Model was a small army, as we reckon armies, of about twenty-one thousand men; but the ranks, espec-

ially of the horse which composed about one-third of the army, were filled with what in those days were called "godly men." Perhaps Cromwell's description of them will give us a better idea: "Men of a spirit that is likely to go as far as any gentleman will go." (Lomas's edition of Carlyle's "Cromwell," III., 65). In the organization of the Ironsides we find a decided break with the spirit of the seventeenth century and a strong tendency towards modern democratic thought and feeling. These men felt that by becoming soldiers they did not cease to be citizens. They disdained the name of "common soldier" and introduced the phrase "private soldier" into our language. As few men of "honor and birth" volunteered at first, they were obliged to select their officers from the ranks, and this made them the butt for the scorn and ridicule of both Cavaliers and Presbyterians. Cromwell wrote to the Committee of the Eastern Association at Cambridge in reply to some criticism: "Gentlemen, may be it provokes some spirits to see plain men made captains of horse; it had been well that men of honor and birth had entered into these employments. But why do they not appear? Who would hinder them? But seeing it is necessary the work must go on, better plain men than none, but best to have men patient of want, faithful and conscientious in the employments." (Lomas's "Carlyle," I., 161). At another time he expressed himself with great clearness: "I rather have a plain russet-coated captain who knows what he fights for and loves what he knows than that you call a gentleman and is nothing else." (Lomas's "Carlyle," I., 154).

In the organization of the New Model many of these "russet-coated captains" were promoted. Both in the infantry and in the cavalry, education, ability and courage were sure of promotion. The star was put on the brave man's breast without regard to his calling in life or his father's position. Thus William Allen rose from the



ranks to be adjutant-general of horse in the Irish army, and Edward Sexby to the command of a regiment of foot. (Firth's "Cromwell's Army," 41.) Soon we shall see private soldiers taking part with the officers in discussions, not only in regard to the grievances of the army, but in regard to its movements, and acting on important committees for drafting papers and in presenting them at Westminster. The committee to present to Parliament (July 16, 1647), the impeachment of the eleven members was composed of four colonels, two lieutenant-colonels, four captains and two soldiers. (Clarke Papers, I., 151.) The committee appointed by Fairfax to examine and report to the Council of the Army on the "Heads of Proposals," as presented by Ireton, consisted of twelve officers, of all ranks, and twelve soldiers, and Lieutenant-General Cromwell was to attend when his duties would permit. (Clarke Papers, I., 216.)

The celebrated self-denying ordinance, which made it incumbent upon all members of Parliament who held commissions in the army to resign within forty days, was aimed at Cromwell; but it transferred the power from the peace party to the war party, from politicians to soldiers, and removed the aristocratic element from the army by compelling the lords who held many of the high offices in the army to resign. Yet rank and social position were not wanting in the Puritan army. Of the thirty-seven generals and colonels, nine were sons of noble families, twenty-one were commoners of good families, and only seven were not sons of gentlemen. (Markham's "Fairfax," 199.) But among the men of noble and gentle blood, among the Montagues, Pickeringes, Sidneys and Sheffields and Fairfaxes were officers like Ewer, who had been a serving man, Okey, who had been a drayman, Hewson, who was a cobbler, Rainsborough, who had been "a skipper at sea," and Pride, who was said to have been a foundling. The under officers were for the most

part tradesmen, brewers, tailors, goldsmiths, shoemakers, and the like. The men who first wore, as the soldiers of the New Model did, "the red-coat," or, as it is called today, the "red rag," so dear to the heart of the English soldier for now two centuries and a half, soon found that courage and competency were sure of promotion. (Gardner: "English Historical Review," July, 1899, 571.)

In this army was utilized the great democratic element in human nature,—the element that brings all men up to a high standard and puts them on a level there,—the element of religion. This element was introduced into the army by the captain of the Sixty-seventh Troop of Horse. Andrew Marvell truly sings in his "Poem on the Death of the late Lord Protector":—

"He first put arms into Religion's hand,  
And timorous conscience unto courage manned;  
The soldier taught that inward mail to wear,  
And fearing God, how they should nothing fear;  
'Those strokes,' he said, 'will pierce through all below,  
Where those that strike from Heaven fetch their blow.'"

In one sense, the New Model was a national, in that it was a patriotic, army. It was the first English army that took no notice of the counties, but looked upon England as one country. But in another and very important sense it was not a national army, for it was not drawn from all parties in the State, nor all sects in religion, but it was made up principally of one political party and one sect in religion, marshalled under one name, "Independency." The Independents were the vanguard of the two great tendencies of which I spoke at the beginning. They were already familiar with democratic principles in the government of the Church, and had been taught by their Calvinism that "the individual was to consider himself as in some special sense the instrument of some great purpose of God." This made it very easy to step across the line that divides the Church from the State.

Indeed, there was nothing else to do, for the legitimate result of a "Church Democracy" is a "State Democracy."

The idea of religious liberty had a stronger hold upon the Puritans, and especially the Independents, and developed faster than the idea of political liberty. The animosity of the Puritans was not directed at first against the king, but against the bishops. It was a proverb among them, if anything went wrong or turned out badly, to say, "The Bishop's foot has been in it." They remembered that the Scriptures had not one good word to say for a dog, and, true to their allegiance to Holy Writ, if a Puritan had a spotted dog he was very sure to name him "Bishop," and many a cur in England in those days bore the august name of some high official position in the Church. They were, however, very careful to make it clear that "no bishops" did not mean "no king."

But soon after the first civil war, the New Model, which was essentially an army of Bible readers and prayer meetings, became an army of political discussion, and prayer meetings of almost interminable length were held to ascertain the Lord's mind and will on questions of reorganizing the State; and a religious reformation became a political revolution, and soon men were not wanting who would bring the king to trial, and, if found guilty, would cut his head off with the crown on it.

The causes that brought about this radical change of opinion are apparent. Charles the First was not without responsibility for his own execution, but schism between the two parties into which Puritanism was divided, the Presbyterian and the Independent, greatly accelerated the movement.

English Presbyterianism drew its inspiration from Scotland: English Independency from the Puritan exiles in New England, and it had much to say of the "New England way." The Presbyterians were strongly attached to the monarchy as it was, and will by-and-by unite with

the Royalists and bring in Charles the Second. The Independents entertained hospitable feelings toward some fundamental republican ideas, but were willing to accept a constitutional monarchy, and in the beginning thought of nothing else. There was a striking difference between the two parties in regard to toleration. Toleration is democracy in religion. A tolerant man fulfills Lowell's definition of democracy, which is, not "I am as good as you are," but "You are as good as I am." But to the Presbyterian, "toleration was the Devil's masterpiece." The Independent took little or no notice of the opinions of others so long as they did not interfere with his enjoyment of his own. The Presbyterians were strong in the House of Commons, but weak in the army; the Independents were weak in the Commons, but strong in the army.

The first civil war ended with the surrender of Oxford to the New Model under Fairfax, in June, 1646. The king, however, had escaped from Oxford and surrendered himself to the Scots, who had a large army in the north of England. But, on the payment of an indemnity of 400,000 pounds, one-half in hand, the Scots withdrew beyond the border and left the king in the hands of a commission appointed by Parliament to receive him. The field was now clear, and the antagonism between the two parties into which Puritanism was divided, the Presbyterian and the Independent, came to the front at once. It was really a quarrel between Parliament and the army. The fundamental ideas of each were soon developed: Parliament sought to establish its own supremacy, and, as the representative of the nation, to force upon it a Presbyterian state church; the idea of the army was to establish the rights of Englishmen, by limiting the power both of the king and Parliament, and if there was a state church, no one should be obliged to attend it.

The year 1647 is ever memorable in the political history

of England, for it is here that we find "the cradle of modern political revolution." To disband the New Model was the subject uppermost in the minds of the Presbyterian leaders in Parliament. This could have been accomplished without friction by men who appreciated the work of the soldier and were willing to give him protection and justice when he had laid down his arms; but the Presbyterian majority took a course which led to the rapid development of democratic ideas in a soil already prepared for their growth. It is very dangerous business to trample on the rights of an English-speaking man's conscience, and try to rob his pocket at the same time. He is very like to think about that penny, and auguring misgovernment while it is yet in the distance, take measures to prevent its coming.

On the 6th of March, the Presbyterians began their attack on the New Model by attempting to oust Fairfax from the command, but their forces broke. Two days later they aimed a blow at Cromwell with better success, and voted that there should be no officers in the army, with the exception of Fairfax, above the rank of colonel. Not content with this, they voted that all the officers and soldiers should take the covenant, and then passed the outrageous ordinance that all the officers should subscribe to the Presbyterian form of church government. They ordered the New Model to be reorganized, appointing a new set of officers, dropping many Independents and putting Presbyterians in their places. They attempted to organize an army out of the New Model for the conquest of Ireland, and, ignoring Fairfax and Cromwell, appointed Skippon and Massey to the command, and then made a bold attempt to cheat the soldiers out of their just dues.

These measures created great excitement at Saffron Walden in Essex, where the bulk of the New Model were quartered. The question of back pay, protection against the malice of royalists when they had laid down their

arms, and a rigid system of intolerance imposed upon the country, began to agitate their minds. The soldiers prepared a mammoth petition, couched in high language; but it was toned down by the officers, and sent to Fairfax and not to Parliament. The petition was very moderate in its demands and respectful in its tone, and may be summarized as follows: 1st, the payment of arrears; 2d, an act of indemnity; 3d, that those who had volunteered be exempted from impressment in future wars; 4th, that widows and orphans of soldiers killed in the service might receive pensions; 5th, that those who had suffered in the cause might be compensated for their losses; and, finally, to use their own words, "that, till the army be disbanded, some course might be taken to supply the soldiers with money, that they may not be beholden to Parliament's enemies, burdensome to its friends, or oppressive to the country." ("Old Parliamentary History," XV., 342-344.)

A copy of the petition, "unseasonably possessed," as the officers afterwards said, was presented by the commissioners to Parliament, with an account of the petition of the soldiers, and produced a storm of indignation; and at the instigation of Denzil Holles, a declaration was passed, condemning the petition, as tending to put the army in a distemper and mutiny, and declaring that those who continued to promote it should be proceeded against as enemies of the State and disturbers of the public peace.

On the 27th of April, Parliament voted to disband the army with six weeks' pay of arrears. But before night a paper was presented to the Commons, entitled, "A Vindication of the Army: A humble Petition of the Officers of the Army under the command of his Excellency, Sir Thomas Fairfax, on behalf of themselves and the Soldiers of the Army."

The petition begins by expressing in very proper language the sorrow of the soldiers at "the hard thoughts

and expressions of Parliament," and also at "the alienation of its affections from its ever trusty and obedient army," and declares that "our late petition was not in the least from distemper, and aimed in no measure at mutiny, nor in anywise to put conditions on Parliament," but that it "was no more than necessity prompted," and that they "knew not anything more essential to freedom than the liberty of petition." In support of their right in this, they cited the Declaration of the 2d of April, 1642, wherein "Parliament bound itself to receive the petitions of the people," and they express the hope, that "by becoming soldiers we have not lost the capacities of subjects, nor divested ourselves thereby of our interest in the Commonwealth, nor that, in purchasing the freedom of our brethren, we have lost our own." But it may be said, "We have arms in our hands." They then instance the cases of the soldiers in the armies of the Earl of Essex and of Sir William Waller, who petitioned Parliament and received the thanks of "your honorable body," and, "We hope therefore we shall not be considered as without the pale of the kingdom, excluded from the fundamental privilege of the subject." They then remind Parliament that the petition had the approbation and mediation of his Excellency, "our ever honored General." After answering the various objections to the petition, they asked in conclusion for the "liberty of petitioning in what concerns us now as soldiers and afterwards as members of the Commonwealth, and as the sense of some expressions, as those found in the recent Declaration of Parliament, is irksome to us, who have ventured whatsoever we esteem dear to us in this world for the preservation of your freedom and privileges, we earnestly implore your justice in vindication of us." This was signed by one hundred and fifty officers.

The Commons postponed the consideration of the petition until the 30th, but when the 30th came they had

business of ominous import on their hands. While the officers had been preparing their petition, the soldiers had not been idle. They had organized themselves for united action. The horse took the lead. Each troop elected two men to represent the troop at a meeting of the representatives of all the troops of the regiment, and these elected two men to represent them at a meeting of all the representatives of all the regiments. These representatives were called "Agitators." The word did not then carry the sinister meaning that it does now, but simply meant "agent." When it was desirable to ascertain the opinion of the army upon any point, the Agitators passed through the troop and interviewed every man personally, and reported the result at a meeting of the Agitators of the regiment.

The first result of this new organization was a unanimous vote on this significant sentence: "We must stand by our officers; they have stood by us." The second was to have a decided effect upon the destinies of the army. The petition of the officers was followed to London by a letter from the soldiers to their generals, Fairfax, Skippon and Cromwell. It was not written in modern diplomatic form, but in what Cromwell called "the soldier's dialect." It was an appeal to their generals, and strikingly illustrates the relations of trust and confidence that existed between the soldier and the general. But it contained some very caustic phrases pointing to men in power at Westminster. General Skippon laid the letter before the House on the 30th, and it caused a storm of indignation and the three messengers were ordered to the bar. But it was evident at once that a new spirit had taken possession of "plain men." The three troopers in buff and steel faced their angry masters with provoking coolness. There was nothing apologetic in their manner or tone; they were civil, but not overawed in that august presence. When asked to explain certain phrases, they replied:



"If it pleased this Honourable House to putt the queries in writing the eight regiments whereof I am a member whose joynt act it was will give an answer to them." ("Clarke Papers," I., 431.) The Commons were thoroughly frightened. Denzil Holles tells us "the House flatted."

A commission was appointed, consisting of Skippon, Cromwell, Ireton and Fleetwood, who were members of the House and also officers in the army, to repair to Saffron Walden at once and ascertain the cause of the discontent. On arriving at headquarters the commission took advantage of the new organization which had now extended to the whole army. The Agitators passed through each troop, interviewed every man, collected and tabulated the grievances, and reported to the officers those about which there was unanimity among the soldiers. A report was then made to the Commission from each regiment.

On Sunday afternoon, May 16th, at a meeting of the officers and the Agitators in the church at Saffron Walden, the additional votes of Parliament were read, giving eight weeks' back pay instead of six, providing an act of indemnity, and promising securities for the arrears. Skippon asked Cromwell to speak. This speech has been hidden away among the "Clarke Papers" for two hundred and fifty years, and has only recently been brought to light, and shows that Cromwell did not say one thing in Parliament and another in the army, but, notwithstanding his sympathies for the soldiers, he stood firm at this time for the authority of Parliament. "Truly, Gentlemen," said Cromwell in closing his speech, "it will be very fitt for you to have a very great care in the making the best use and improvement that you can both of the votes and of this that hath been last told you, and of the interest which all of you or any of you may have in your severall respective regiments, namely, to worke in them a good opinion of that authority that is over both us and them.

If that authoritie falls to nothing, nothing can followe but confusion. You have hitherto fought to maintaine that duty, and truly as you have vouchsafed your hands in defending that, soe [vouchsafe] now to express your industry and interest to preserve it, and therefore I have nothing more to say to you. I shall desire that you will be pleased to lay this to heart that I have said." ("Clarke Papers," I., 72.)

The officers drew up a declaration, and two of the commissioners were recalled to make a report. Cromwell presented an elaborate report, and said that he believed the army would disband at the command of Parliament, but they would by no means hear of going to Ireland.

But during his absence great changes had taken place at Westminster. Cromwell was not a man to be deceived. He found that the Presbyterians had been plotting with the Royalists, and were interested in a scheme to bring Prince Charles over from France, put him at the head of a Scottish army to invade England, and, with the strong support of the city of London, restore the king to the throne without any conditions, except that he would establish the Presbyterian church government for three years; and his own report encouraged them to strike the fatal blow. They voted at once to scatter the army and disband it, regiment by regiment, at different times and places, and to begin with Fairfax's regiment of foot on the 1st of June. At that time the pay of Fairfax's regiment of horse, Cromwell's old Ironsides, was thirteen months in arrears. In other words, Parliament owed each trooper £36 8s, and proposed to pay him £5 12s; or to put it into our money today, Parliament owed each trooper about \$630, and proposed to pay him about \$99.

The time had now come when Cromwell must choose between the Parliament and the army, and he cast his lot with the army. By one bold move he threw his enemies into confusion and ruined all their plans. He saw that

the king was the centre round which all things moved, and, without the knowledge of the General, he gave orders to George Joyce—once a tailor in London, now a cornet in Fairfax's regiment—to go to Oxford and secure the artillery and then with five hundred picked troopers to proceed to the Holdenby House and see to it that the king was not carried off to London. This was Cromwell's original order; but Joyce got frightened, and started with his royal captive for the army.

The soldiers were angered beyond endurance when they heard of the disbanding measures, but the Agitators were on the alert, called a council of war, and petitioned Fairfax to order a general rendezvous, that the soldiers might have an opportunity to advise together. It was a very dangerous thing to do, but Fairfax was now in the hands of the army; he could not lead, he must follow. He issued the order, for he knew if he did not they would, and the army would be out of hand. On the 4th of June, the army was drawn up on Kentford Heath, about four miles from Newmarket, and the soldiers put into Fairfax's hands a paper called, "A humble representation of the Grievances of the Army." The next day, June 5th, a second rendezvous was held, and a paper, called "The Solemn Engagement of the Army," was read and signed by all the officers and men. The army was now in the hands of the Agitators and was an enraged and infuriated mob with arms in their hands. It was no time for arbitrary measures; a compromise must be effected. Fortunately, a genius in practical affairs who knew men and who knew soldiers, particularly these soldiers, was at hand to put the finishing touches to this document. Cromwell, who was always clear-headed, and was always, no matter how long he had hesitated, equal to any emergency when it came, had arrived at headquarters the night before. The last two paragraphs of this remarkable document bear the unmistakable marks of his hand and mind.

"We, the Officers and Soldiers," the first clause begins, "of the army subscribing hereunto, do hereby declare, agree, and promise to and with each other, and to and with the Parliament and Kingdom as followeth.

"That we shall chearfully and readily disband, when thereunto required by the Parliament, or else shall many of us be willing (if desired) to engage in further Services either in *England* or *Ireland*, having first such satisfaction to the Army in relation to our Grievances and Desires heretofore presented, and such Security, That we of our selves or other the free-born People of England, shall not remain subject to like Oppression, Injury, or Abuse, as in the Premises have been attempted and put upon us while an Army, by the same Mens continuance in the same Credit and Power (especially if as our Judges) who have in these past Proceedings against the Army, so far prevailed to abuse the Parliament and us, and to endanger the Kingdom. . . ."

The security of the soldiers after the army has been disbanded is then provided for in the most ample manner. Then a practical suggestion is made, tending to bring the army back into the hands of the officers and to conciliate the soldiers. The army shall be governed in all matters by a council of the army, composed of the general officers, with two commissioned officers from each regiment elected by the officers of the regiment, and two soldiers from each regiment elected by the soldiers of the regiment. This council may be called together by the General, and all questions must be decided by a majority vote. Having made these statements and proposed this organization, the challenge is boldly thrown down: "That without such satisfaction and security as aforesaid, we shall not willingly disband, nor divide, nor suffer ourselves to be disbanded or divided." ("Rushworth," VI., 512.)

We have here a declaration not only that the army will not disband until the pecuniary grievances of the soldier are redressed and his personal safety secured, but a declaration that passes into the field of politics and

declares war upon the Presbyterian leaders in Parliament; but, what is most remarkable of all, a government is provided for the army, composed of a fusion of the body representing the soldiers and the body representing the officers. The soldiers are now organized for deliberation and discussion as well as for fighting, and their enemies will find them as skilful with the pen as with the sword, and as bold in the fields of political speculation as on the battlefield.

In the second paragraph is a denial that "dangerous Principles, Interests and Designs" are entertained in the army, such as the "overthrow of the Magistracy, the suppression or hindering of Presbytery, the Establishment of Independent Government, or upholding of a general Licentiousness in Religion, under pretence of Liberty of Conscience." A promise is made that a vindication of the army shall presently be published, and it closes with stating the real object of the soldiers: they study, it says, "to promote such an Establishment of common and equal Right and Freedom to the Whole, as all might equally partake of, but those that do, by denying the same to others, or otherwise, render themselves incapable thereof."

On the 15th of June came the promised declaration of the army. It was addressed to Parliament, but really intended for the English people. It was not transcribed on the records of either House, but was published by the soldiers. Little was said in it about grievances, but it was devoted for the most part to a discussion of the right and liberties of the subject, and to suggestions as to how to prevent the evils of the present in the future. It was very severe in its criticisms of some members of Parliament, and promised to name them shortly. This paper was followed to London by another impeaching Denzil Holles and ten other members of Parliament in the name of the army.

In a remonstrance published on the 27th of June against some of the acts of Parliament, the statement is made "that Parliament Privileges, as well as Royal Prerogative, may be perverted and abused, or extended to the destruction of the greater Ends for whose Protection and Preservation they were admitted or intended, viz., the Rights and Privileges of the People and the Safety of the whole." ("Old Parliamentary History," XVI., 9.) The army is, however, still loyal to the king, and in the same remonstrance makes this declaration: "We farther clearly profess we do not see how there can be any firm or lasting Peace to this Kingdom, without a due Consideration of, and Provision for the Rights, Quiet and Immunity of his Majesty, his Royal Family, and his late Partakers; and herein we think that tender and equable Dealing (as supposing their Case had been ours), and of a common Love and Justice diffusing itself to the Good and Preservation of all, will make up the most glorious Conquest over their Hearts, if God in his Mercy see it good, to make them and the whole People of the Land lasting Friends." ("Old Parliamentary History," XVI., 15.)

The army was now so completely organized that it was in truth a little state. The Council of the army might correspond to a senate, and the Agitators, in closer relations to the soldiers, to a house of representatives. It was organized with permanent officers, had a secretary, and even a printer. The Council was called together by the general, usually at the request of the Agitators, and could adjourn from day to day. The general presided when present, and it was opened with a prayer meeting which lasted usually about an hour, but the time was not limited and once, at least, it was prolonged to three hours. Much of the work was done in committees. It has been noted that in times of perplexity and doubt, Cromwell always asked that the subject be referred to a committee, and that Colonel Goffe invariably pro-

posed a "seeking of the Lord." ("Clarke Papers," I., lxxiv.)

Great freedom of discussion was allowed. The discussions were sometimes long and angry, and the speakers indulged in personalities. Cromwell, lieutenant-general that he was, did not escape the criticism of the Agitators; but his hard good sense and superb temper usually won the victory. He believed in reasoning with and persuading men, and there never was in all human history a great man "who was so tolerant of lunatics and fools."

The Presbyterians had made several elaborate attempts to come to terms with the king, but without success. The soldiers thought that too much had been asked of him and resolved to make an effort themselves. The subject was referred to the commission of the army, which, with the approval of Fairfax, appointed Commissary-General Ireton to prepare a paper expressing the wishes of the army. Henry Ireton, now the penman of the army, was a university man, had studied in the Temple, and was one of the clearest political thinkers of the age. A rough draft was presented to the General Council on the 18th of July and an invitation was extended to the officers and Agitators to make suggestions. It was desired to make it a paper upon which they could all agree, and it was referred to a representative committee of twelve officers, of all ranks, and twelve Agitators, and Lieutenant-General Cromwell was to attend when his duties would permit.

During the last days of July, the report was so far advanced that it was submitted to the king's friends, who made some suggestions. It was then informally submitted to the king, who is said to have made some suggestions which were approved, and then it was submitted to the General Council of the army, where it was discussed and adopted and sent to Parliament, and it was also published. It differed widely from anything

that had yet been suggested. The object of the soldiers was to protect themselves and their posterity against the tyranny of the Parliament, the tyranny of the church and the tyranny of the king. Each proposal (and there were sixteen), stated a point in contention between the army on the one side, and the Parliament, the church, or the king on the other. Each proposal was conceived with consummate political wisdom and stated with the most lawyer-like precision, and the whole proceeds in logical order, and there is no break with the past.

The first proposal, under eleven short sections, deals with Parliament. It proposes that a certain period be set for the ending of this Parliament, such period to be put within a year, and in the same act provision be made for the succession and constitution of Parliament in the future as followeth: That Parliaments may be biennially called and with certainty; that every biennial Parliament sit one hundred and twenty days, unless dissolved sooner by its own consent and afterwards to be dissolved by the king, and no Parliament shall sit past two hundred and forty days; that the king, with the consent of a council which is provided for, may call a Parliament Extraordinary, provided it meet at least seventy days before the biennial day and close sixty days before the same; that the elections of the Commons may be distributed so that all the counties may have a number of members allowed to their choice proportionable to the respective rates they bear in the common charge and burden of the kingdom, to render the House of Commons as near as possible an equal representative of the whole; that there shall be freedom of election, certainty of returns, and freedom of speech; and that the House of Commons alone have power to judge in cases of elections and make further distribution of seats to insure just representation. We have here the reform bill of 1832 anticipated by almost two centuries.

The second proposal deals with the army and the navy,



and puts them under the control of the Lords and Commons for ten years, and after that, under the king, with the consent of the two Houses. This struck down the dynastic policy so long in vogue, and made war and peace a matter of national well-being, and not dependent upon the caprice of the sovereign or the interests of the ruling family.

The eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth deal with the church, and are the most remarkable and original of all. Nothing is said about a state church, or whether it shall be Presbyterian or Episcopalian; that is left to a Parliament to be elected; but it provides for either. It first deals with Episcopacy: that an act be passed taking away all coercive powers, authority and jurisdiction of bishops, and all ecclesiastical officers whatsoever, extending to civil penalties; that there be repealed all acts or clauses of any act enjoining the use of the Book of Common Prayer, and imposing any penalties for the neglect thereof, as also all acts or clauses of an act imposing any penalties for not coming to church or for attending religious meetings elsewhere. It next deals with the Presbyterians, and provides that the Covenant shall not be enforced upon any, nor any penalty imposed on those who refuse to take it.

The fourteenth proposal deals with the king: "That the things here before proposed being provided, for settling and securing the rights, liberties, peace and safety of the kingdom, His Majesty's person, his Queen, and royal issue, may be restored to a condition of safety, honour and freedom in this nation, without diminution to their personal rights, or further limitation to the exercise of the regal power than according to the particulars foregoing." It proposed many reforms of the laws, especially the laws of imprisonment for debt; that law officials should be paid a regular salary; and it asked for a more lenient treatment of the king's party, and that all treaties

made with individuals by the army should be kept inviolate. (Gardiner's "Constitutional Documents," 237.)

Although the army had occupied London within a few days after the proposals had been sent to Westminster, Parliament paid no attention to the request of the army that they should be immediately considered, but sent to the king a slightly revised edition of the Newcastle Propositions. In his reply of September 14th, the king expressed his preference for the proposals of the army. ("Rushworth," VII., 810.)

But in a few weeks troubles were brewing in the army. A new radicalism was coming to the front. Democratic ideas were advancing more rapidly in the minds of the soldiers than in the minds of the officers. The soldiers were getting tired of the king, and of kings. The frequent conferences of Cromwell and Ireton with the king, and between them and the king's friends, excited their jealousies and fears. Even the faithful Hugh Peters, that "Prince of Chaplains," attacked them as "too great courtiers." (Gardiner, "Civil War," III., 357.) But their action in Parliament caused still greater alarm. On the 21st of September, they both vehemently opposed a motion that there should be no more addresses to the king, which meant that the kingdom should be settled without him, and two days later they supported a motion for another address. The suspicion of the soldiers was now confirmed that their generals were playing them false and were making personal arrangements with the king. This led five regiments of horse, Cromwell's and Ireton's among them, to cashier their old Agitators and to elect new ones, whom they called "Agents."

On the 18th of October, these Agents presented to Fairfax a printed pamphlet of twenty quarto pages, called "The Case of the Army Truly Stated." It was probably written by John Wildman, an ex-soldier who had been a scholar at Cambridge and was a disciple of John Lilburne,

the Leveller. It was accompanied with a long letter explanatory of their motives and object. Among many things common today, but alarming novelties then, "it announced for the first time," says Dr. Gardiner, "'the paramount law' that all power is originally and essentially in the whole body of the people of this nation and that their free choice or consent of their representers is the only original foundation of all just government." (Gardiner, "Civil War," III., 379.) This law is at the bottom of the English and American constitutions as they stand today.

Fairfax, after considering it, replied that he "thought it meet that it should be presented to the next General Council of the army" ("Rushworth," VII., 846), and on the 22d it was brought up for discussion. A committee was appointed to investigate the subject and to report on the 28th. Fairfax was not present at this meeting, and Cromwell, on taking the chair, announced that this was a public meeting and that any one might have liberty to speak. ("Clarke Papers," I., 226.)

Sexby, the Agitator, opened the discussion by declaring that: "Wee have lean'd on and gone to Egypt for helpe. . . . Wee sought to satisfie all men, and itt was well; butt in going [about] to doe it, wee have dissatisfied all men. Wee have labour'd to please a Kinge, and I thinke, except wee goe about to cutt all our own throates, wee shall nott please him; and wee have gone about to support an house which will prove rotten studds, I meane the Parliament which consists of a Company of rotten Members." He then told Cromwell and Ireton: "Your creditts and reputation hath bin much blasted," *i. e.*, by their late action in Parliament. ("Clarke Papers," I., 227.)

The Agents soon produced a synopsis of the "Case of the Army," which was as short as the original was long, as it covered a little more than two pages of printed matter.

It was called, "The Agreement of the People." In a preamble, in which they called attention to the fact that "our late labors and hazards have shown the world at how high a rate we value our just freedom, and that God having so far owned our cause as to deliver our enemies into our hands, to avert the danger of returning into a slavish condition and another war," they affirmed "that we are fully agreed and resolved to make the following declaration:—

"1. That the people of England are very unequally distributed for the election of members of Parliament and ought to be proportioned according to the number of the inhabitants."

(You will notice here a sweeping reform and that manhood suffrage is called for.)

"2. That the present Parliament be dissolved the last day of September, 1648.

"3. That the people do, of course, choose a Parliament every other year to begin on the first Thursday of April, and continue until the last day of September next and no longer.

"4. That the power of all future Parliaments is inferior only to those who choose them, and doth extend, without the consent or concurrence of any other person or persons, to the erecting and abolishing of offices and courts, to the appointing, removing, and calling to account magistrates and officers of all degrees, to making of war and peace, to the treating with foreign states, and, generally to whatsoever is not especially reserved by the represented to themselves:

Which are as followeth,

"1. That the ways of God's worship are not to be entrusted to any human power: 2. That impressments to serve in war are against our liberties and therefore we do not allow it to our representatives: 3. That no person shall be at any time called in question for anything said or done in reference to the late public differences otherwise than in execution of the judgments of the House of Commons: 4. That in all laws made or to be made

every person may be bound alike: and 5. That the laws ought to be equal, so they must be good." (Gardiner's "Constitutional Documents," 333.)

You will notice that there is no room here for king or House of Lords, and that all feudal privileges and privileges of every kind are swept away. But no provision is made, as in American constitutions, for adjusting of government to the changed condition and needs of the people. The debate that ensued has been preserved in the papers of William Clarke, an under-secretary of the army, which have been edited by our associate, Mr. Charles H. Firth. They throw a new light upon the characters of some of the men, especially upon that of Ireton, and a very clear light upon the state of political thought in the two parties into which the army was then divided. The principal debaters on one side were: Cromwell, Ireton and Colonel Rich; on the other, Colonel Rainsborough, who was a member of Parliament and had recently been appointed to a high place in the navy, John Wildman, who said he came as "the mouth of the Agents of the five regiments of horse," and the Agitators Edward Sexby and William Allen, who were both very able men. The other officers and agitators spoke occasionally, and the debate ran through several days.

Cromwell, conservative, cautious and conciliatory, with an eye always on what was for the best interest of the people (although not always on what the people thought was best for themselves), but who never lost sight of the practical, opened the debate. Forms of government was a new subject for him, and he headed at once toward the unity of thought and action in the army. Of the "Case of the Army," or, as he called it, the "Book of the Army," he said:—

"These things you now offer are new to us; this is the first time we have had a view of them. This paper does contain in it very great alterations of the government

of the kingdom, alterations of that government it hath been under, I believe I may say almost since it was a nation. What the consequences would be, wise and godly men ought to consider. The paper is very plausible, and if we could jump from one condition to another, it might be well, but might not while we are discussing it, another party of men get up something just as plausible and still another, and so on, until we arrive at confusion. Then there are some difficulties that honest men ought to consider. We ought to look not only at the consequences but at the possibilities, of ways and means to accomplish it. That is to say, to consider whether according to reason and judgment the temper and spirit of the people of this nation are prepared to receive and to go along with it and to overcome and remove the great difficulties in the way. To anything that is good, objections may be framed, but let every honest man consider whether there are not some real objections to this. And I know a man can answer all difficulties with faith,—and faith will answer all difficulties really, where it is,—and we are very apt all of us to call that faith, that perhaps may be but carnal imagination and carnal reasoning. If I am not mistaken we have in time of our danger issued our Declarations and we must consider how far these are binding on us, if we mean honestly and seriously to approve ourselves to honest men. He that departs from a real engagement, I think transgresses without faith. I hope we shall prove ourselves honest men whether we are free to tender any good to the public.”

The question of the engagements of the army was then taken up, and Wildman thought that the case before them was so much greater that all other engagements could be well laid aside. Rainsborough said that a bad engagement was better broken than kept. The debate was long and passionate, and Goffe, after a characteristic speech, in which he attributed the want of unity to a neglect of God, moved “a seeking of the Lord.” The motion was supported by Cromwell and Ireton, but Cromwell moved that a committee be appointed. Ireton

said that he should like to be a member of the committee, and after some discussion both motions were adopted.

The next morning, October 29th, the prayer meeting took place at the quarters of the quartermaster, Mr. Chamberlain, and judging from the record, it occupied most, if not all, the forenoon. In the afternoon the discussion on the "Agreement of the Army" was renewed, and Ireton made an eloquent speech. He did not care so much about the engagements themselves as about the reputation and honor of the army. He said: "I would not have this army to incur the scandall of neglecting engagements, and laying aside all consideration of engagements, and of jugling, and deceiving, and deluding the world, making them believe thinges in times of extreamity which they never meant." ("Clarke Papers," I., 297.)

In the afternoon, Cromwell in the chair, "The Agreement of the People" was read, and afterwards the first article. Ireton said: "This doth make mee thinke that the meaning is, that every man that is an inhabitant is to bee equally consider'd, and to have an equal voice in the election of representers." ("Clarke Papers," I., 299.) Rainsborough did not leave him in doubt on this point, if he had any, but replied at once: "I thinke that the poorest hee that is in England hath a life to live as the greatest hee; and therefore truly, Sir, I thinke itt's cleare, that every man that is to live under a Governement ought first by his owne consent to putt himself under that Governement; and I doe thinke that the poorest man in England is nott att all bound in a stricte sence to that Governement that hee hath not had a voice to putt himself under; and I am confident that when I have heard the reasons against itt, somethinge will bee said to answer those reasons, insoemuch that I should doubt whether he was an Englishman or noe that should doubt of these thinges." ("Clarke Papers," I., 301.)

They now plunged into a discussion of the birthright of Englishmen, the nature of the coronation oath of the king, a property qualification for the voter, the nature of civil and natural rights and abstract principles of government. Cromwell, whose mind revolved round practical principles and who really took more interest in religious than in civil liberty, had little to say. The debate was angry, and more than once he had to remind the speakers, "Wee should nott bee soe hott one with another." ("Clarke Papers," I., 309.) But Ireton was in his native element. He was a clear thinker, an able debater, and at home in the fields of political speculation; but he was too dogmatic to be eminently persuasive, and sometimes excited opposition where his more conciliatory father-in-law won a victory over his opponents by winning them to his view. He made short work with the historical argument that the first article of this agreement restored to the English people the liberties which they lost at the Norman Conquest. His speeches on natural rights remind one of the "Reflections on the Revolution in France," by Edmund Burke, one hundred and fifty years later.

Occasionally a soldier like Sexby would take the debate out of the field of argument. "There are many thousands of us souldiers," he said, "that have ventur'd our lives; wee have had little propriety in the Kingedome as to our estates, yett wee have had a birthright. Butt itt seemes now except a man hath a fix't estate in this Kingedome, hee hath noe birthright in the Kingedome. I wonder wee were soe much deceived . . . I shall tell you in a worde my resolution. I am resolved to give my birthright to none. Whatsoever may come in the way, and whatsoever may bee thought, I will give itt to none." ("Clarke Papers," I., 325.)

Ireton replied: "I am very sorry wee are come to this point, that from reasoning one to another we should come to expresse our resolutions."



The committee asked for by Cromwell was indeed a representative body, including Rainsborough and Sexby, as well as Cromwell and Ireton, among its members. They went to their work at once, and, taking the "Proposals of the Army" as a basis, they adopted some of the features of the "Agreement of the People," but retained the king and the House of Lords, and extended the franchise to all those who had borne arms in the Parliamentary cause or had contributed to its support.

But the decision of the Council of the army was not satisfactory to the soldiers, and, on November 5th, the Agitators carried a vote for a general rendezvous of the whole army in the hope to carry "The Agreement of the People," by acclamation. But Cromwell, November 8th, carried a vote that the Agitators and representative officers should be dismissed to their several regiments and also that there should be three separate gatherings instead of a general rendezvous. When two regiments broke away from their officers and came to Ware, Cromwell met them sword in hand. ("Rushworth," VII., 875, 878.) One of the ringleaders was shot and discipline was restored. The officers and Agitators early in January, 1648, were sent to their regiments, and the Council of the army was never called together again. Henceforth the army was governed by a Council of the officers.

The "Proposals of the Army" stand forth as the best results of all these discussions. It was indeed a fine piece of political work. Had Charles First accepted the "Proposals of the Army" as the basis of the settlement of the affairs of the kingdom, he would have found himself sustained by the most powerful army of which history gives any account, and his throne surrounded by the most remarkable men of the age; for the Puritan as a soldier and sailor, as a statesman and diplomatist, as a scholar and poet, was the peer of any man in Europe. Theoretically, he would have placed the English constitu-

tion and English liberty where they were at the ascension of Victoria, but practically, he could have done nothing of the kind. The plan of the army was born out of due season; it belonged to the nineteenth century, and not to the seventeenth. You cannot jump from one stage of civilization to another any more than you can jump from boyhood to manhood. Man must grow from generation to generation, from century to century:—

“From the lower to the higher next,  
Not to the top, is Nature's text:  
And embryo good to reach full stature,  
Absorbs the evil in its nature.”

WILL OF THOMAS HORE OF BRISTOL.  
HIS OAKEN CHEST.

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At the annual meeting of the Society, in October, 1903, Vice-President GEORGE F. HOAR said: "I am afraid the Society may think this matter is somewhat trifling and perhaps too personal, but I will take only a few minutes in giving an account of a somewhat entertaining discovery which has lately been made in Bristol, England. The gentleman whose will I am to lay before the Society, Thomas Hore of Bristol, England, was the ancestor not only of the persons of his own name in this country, but of a great many persons in New England, members of this Society and others well known,—the Holmeses, Lowells, Quincys, President Adams and his descendants, General Terry of Fort Fisher, all the Prescotts, Senator Baldwin, some of the Dwights, and so on. There is a great list of descendants who may trace their blood to this man.

"Early in the summer of 1903 Mr. J. Henry Lea, who has succeeded to the work of Mr. Waters in making extensive genealogical researches in England, sent to me a copy of a will of an ancestor of mine, Thomas Hore of Bristol, dated in 1466. The will is in Latin, and very curious. He describes himself as a burgess of Bristol, leaves several bequests for his own soul and the soul of his wife, and leaves a great many silver articles to different persons, salt-cellars, flagons, and the like, of each of which he gives the weight. Some of them are described as being of gold and silver. In the will is the following clause: 'I give to the City of Bristol my large oak chest, bound with iron, to keep their records in.' It occurred to me that it was quite likely that this chest might still be in the possession of the City of Bristol, as there would be no

reason why they should have ever parted with it. Accordingly I wrote to our consul, the Hon. Lorin A. Lathrop, whom I had known formerly, to make inquiry. He reported that the treasurer of the City, who is an antiquary of considerable distinction, had found what is undoubtedly the identical chest in the garret of the Council House, and Mr. Lathrop sent me a photograph of the chest. The City authorities and antiquaries were very much excited by the discovery. The chest was brought down into the Mayor's parlor, and is to be placed in the National Museum. The chief interest, however, in the matter is this: Thomas Hore was Bailiff of the City. He was afterward Sheriff when William Canynges was Mayor.<sup>1</sup> Mr. Hore's name, and that of some of his family, including John Hore and William Hore who was Mayor, appear in the civic records for more than a century preceding and following the date of this will. William Canynges is probably the most eminent character in the civic annals of Bristol. His ancestor of the same name built the Church of St. Mary Redcliffe, in Bristol. When that church was badly damaged by a flood and the tower carried away, it was restored by the younger William Canynges, of whom I am speaking. By his will, made about the same time, Canynges leaves his chest to the Church of St. Mary Redcliffe, for its archives. That chest is also in existence in the tower of that church. It is the chest in which Chatterton—

‘the marvellous boy,  
The sleepless soul that perished in his pride,’

“whose story is so familiar to us all, found the Rowley manuscripts, of which it is believed a very few are genuine, and pretended to find the manuscripts which he himself

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<sup>1</sup> Ricart's *Kalendar*, p. 40, gives William Canynges as Mayor, and Thomas Hore as Sheriff in the 28th Henry VI., 1450.

Also Thomas Hore as Bailiff, 1438. Page 39.

Also William Hore as Mayor, 1312. Page 33.

forged. The City Treasurer said that undoubtedly these somewhat peculiar bequests, made at about the same time by these two friends and contemporaries, were made by a concert between them.

"I suppose the evidence that Thomas Hore was my own ancestor is strong enough to warrant its being asserted with confidence. The husband of Mrs. Joanna, who came to this country with five children, was Charles Hoare. His oldest son was Thomas, his second son John. His two daughters were Joanna and Margery. The maker of this will, to which I refer, was Thomas Hore. His oldest son was John, his second son Thomas, and his two daughters, Joanna and Margery. He leaves to his oldest son John lands at Wotton-Under-Edge in Gloucestershire, where the family owned lands in several generations. As is well known, the larger part of Bristol is in Gloucestershire, although a small part of it is in Somerset. The river Avon, which runs through the City, separates the two shires."

TRANSCRIPT OF THE WILL OF THOMAS HORE, BURGESS  
OF BRISTOL 1466, IN THE ORIGINAL MONKISH LATIN.

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Testm Thome Hoore.

IN DEI NOMINE AMEN quarto die mensis Aprilis Anno dni Millimo CCCC<sup>mo</sup> sexage<sup>mo</sup> sexto ET Anno Regni Regis Edwardi quarti post conqm sexto Ego Thomas Hore Burgensis ville Bristoll compos ment mee & sane memorie condo testm meum in hunc modum IN primis lego aiam mea deo omnipotenti beate marie virgini matri sue & omibz sanct eius Corpusqz meu sepiend in ecclia sce cruc<sup>a</sup> templi cora altar sci Thome Martiris ibm Itm lego matri ecclie Wellen xij<sup>d</sup> Itm lego vicario ecclie sce cruc<sup>a</sup> templi p<sup>d</sup>dict vj<sup>d</sup> viij<sup>d</sup> Itm lego Johanni filio meo seniori comorant ap<sup>d</sup> London omia terr & tenta mea cu suis ptin que habeo in villa & Burgo de Wotton subtus Egge in Com Gloucestr sibi et hered de corpe sue legitime pcreat impptm Et si contingat dem Johem sine tal exit obire qd absit tunc volo qd omia p<sup>d</sup> dict terr & ten integre remaneant Thome filio meo & hered de corpe suo ltime pcreat impptm Itm lego deo Johanni filio

meo vna crater argent & deaurat pond xxx<sup>a</sup> vnc & dj. Itm lego eidem Johanni vna cratera de argento cum vno Fawcon pond xxxiiij vnc & dimid Itm lego eid Johanni vnu ciphu vocat a Notte stant hernisat cu argent deaurat pond xxvnc Itm lego eide Johanni vnu salariu pro sale de argent & in pte deaurat pond xxij vnc & plus Itm lego eide Johani vna duodena coeliar argent pond xij vnc Itm lego p<sup>r</sup> deo Thome Hore filio meo vna cratera argent & deaurat pond xxiiij vnc Itm lego eide Thome vnu ciphu stant argent & in pte deaurat cum vno cuniclo stant sup<sup>a</sup> dict ciphum pond xxviiij vnc & dj Itm lego eidem Thome vnu ciphum vocat a Nutte stant & coopl hernisat cu argento deaurat pond xix vnc & dj Itm lego eide Thome vnu salariu pro sale de argent & in pte deaurat pond xx vnc Itm lego sup<sup>a</sup> dict Thome mea toga de Blewe penulat cu martrons mea toga de Cremesyn engrayned lyned & mea tema de Scarlette Itm lego Agneti vx<sup>r</sup>i mee vna cratera stant de argent & dimid pte deaurat pond xxiiij vnc & iij q<sup>rt</sup> Itm lego eide Agneti quatuor crateras voc Chased pecys cum vno coopculo argent & in pte deaurat pond lxix vnc & dj. Itm lego eide Agneti ij salar pro sale cu vno coopculo de argent ambo pond xix vnc & di Itm lego eide Agneti duas pvas crater de argent & deaurat ponder ambo xj vnc & plus Itm lego eide Agneti duos ciphos voc Nottes stant hnissat cu argent & deaurat pond xl vnc Itm lego eide Agneti vnu ciphum vocat a Maser stant hernisat cum argeto & deaurat pond xvj vnc & dj Itm lego eidem Agneti vna duodena & di coeliar argent pond xviiij vnc Itm lego eide Agneti vnu powderpere de argent & ij fork<sup>a</sup> pro grene gynger de argent pond xj vnc Itm lego eide Agneti mea magna murra vocat saint Jonys hede pond xiiij vnc Itm lego eide Agneti vna flatte m<sup>r</sup>a pond vij vnc Itm lego eide Agneti vtensilia mea videlt in camera in pincerna & in coquina cu omibz eisde ptin necnon xiiij toddes lane & tres mesur daid Itm volo qd meu ciphum vocat le wodefate pond xliij vnc & di & aliu ciphu meu stant voc le Mermayde pond xxxiiij vnc & di ac aliu ciphu meu stant cu vno turr sup<sup>a</sup> coopculo eiusde pond xxvj vnc & di ac duos discos meos vocat spice disshes argent & deaurat ambo pond xxviiij vnc ac vnu ciphu voc a Notte hernisat cu argent & deaurat pond xx vnc & plus ac vna cratera chased voc le Rose cu vno coopculo argent pond xix vnc & iij q<sup>rt</sup> vendant<sup>r</sup> p meos executores meliori modo quo sciunt aut pot<sup>r</sup>int & q pecunia p eosde Recept inueniet vnu capellanu idoneu ad celebrand in ecclia sce cruce Templi p<sup>r</sup>dict ad altare sci Thome ibm pro aia mea & aiabz Roberti Russell Clement<sup>r</sup> Bagotte & Willi Weston ac p aia Johane vx<sup>r</sup>is mee p spaciū triu annores prox post obitu meu sequen & supplusag inde reman post exhibicoem dei

capellani debit<sup>us</sup> meis primitus inde solut volo q distribuant<sup>r</sup> p avisamentu & discrecoem executores in opibz caritatiuis vbi maius necessar est pro aia mea & aiabz p<sup>r</sup> dict Itm volo q sex panni lanei mei complet & j pip gaid continet in se xvj Mesur vendant<sup>r</sup> p executor meos & q ipi de pecun inde recept Itm volo q quinqz olle mee en maior & vna magna patella & unu lanacrum de laton melius ac ecia vnu weyebeame cu ij scales eide ptinen necnon v<sup>o</sup> wight plumb vendant<sup>r</sup> p executor meos & q pecunia inde lenat distribuut<sup>r</sup> in opibz caritatiuis vbi mag<sup>m</sup> necesse est p aia mea & aiabz oim fideliu defunctores Itm volo qd duo mei anuli auri voc lez signettes vendant<sup>r</sup> p executor meos meliori modo quo sciu<sup>r</sup> int & de pecunia inde recept volo q ipi emant sufficient pannos lineos voc Crestecloth & inde fieri fac p paupibz Camisi & smokkes & ill distribuant in elemosinis p aia mea scdm eoresdisrec Itm lego Johanne filie mee vna murra stant pond vij vnc et quinqz coeliar de argent & vna toga blodij coloris penulat cu Greye & duas virgas de Blackalire ad faciend ipam deinde vna kyrtell & in pecunia numrat xxs xx<sup>s</sup> st<sup>r</sup> ling Itm lego Johani Farewey towker vj<sup>s</sup> viij<sup>d</sup> st<sup>r</sup> ling Itm lego cam<sup>r</sup> a ville Bristoll ad imponend evidenc MEA MAGNA SISTA LIGAT CU FERRO Residu vero oim et singlores bonores meos Jocaliu & catellores supius non legatores post debit mea solut sepultura mea factam & pntem volutate mea pimplet do & lego executor meis subscript<sup>us</sup> ad inde disponend pro aia mea in pijs vsibz & opibz caritatiuis p ut eis melius videbit<sup>r</sup> deo placere & saluti aie mee pficere Et faco ordino & constituo executores meos huius testi mei p<sup>r</sup> dcm Johnem Hore filiu meu & Johnem Gourney Burgense & pandoxatore ville Bristollie et lego eide Johani Gourney p labor sue in pmiss habend xxvj<sup>s</sup> viij<sup>d</sup> Ac ecia constituo p<sup>r</sup> dcm vicariu ecclie sce cruc<sup>a</sup> templi p<sup>r</sup> dict supuisore eiusdem testi mei In cuius Rei testimoniu huic pnti testo meo sigillu meum apposui Dat Bristoll die & Anno sup<sup>a</sup> dict<sup>us</sup>.

Probat fuit suprascript testm apud Lamehith xvij<sup>o</sup> die mensis Julij Anno dni Millimo CCCC<sup>mo</sup> sexagesimo sexto ac approbat etc. Et comissa fuit administracio oim et singlores bonores dicti defuncti Johani Hoore executori in deo testo nomiat de bn et fidelit administrand bona hmoi ac de pleno Inuentario bonores hmoi etc. citra festum sci Martini quod erit in Yeme prox futur etc. ac de plano compoto etc iurat Res<sup>r</sup> uat ptate etc.

TRANSLATION BY J. HENRY LEA.

IN THE NAME OF GOD AMEN the fourth day of the month of April in the year of our lord one thousand 400 sixty

six AND in the year of the Reign of King Edward the fourth after the conquest the sixth

I THOMAS HORE Burgess of the city of Bristoll (*being*) of sound mind and sane memory do make my testament in this manner IN the first place I bequeath my soul to the omnipotent god the blessed virgin Mary his mother and to all his saints My body to be buried in the church of the holy cross of the temple<sup>1</sup> (1) before the altar of saint Thomas the Martyr in the same ITEM I bequeath to the mother church of Wells (2) 12 pence ITEM I bequeath to the vicar of the church of the holy cross of the temple aforesaid 6<sup>s</sup> 8<sup>d</sup> ITEM I bequeath to John my eldest son commorant (3) in London all my lands and tenements with their appurtenances which I hold in the town and Borough of Wotton under Edge (4) in the county of Gloucester to him and the heirs of his body lawfully begotten forever AND in case that the said John should die without issue which (*God*) forbid then I will that all my aforesaid lands and tenements shall remain together to Thomas my son and the heirs of his body lawfully begotten forever ITEM I bequeath to the said John my son a bowl (5) of silver and gilt weighing 30 ounces and one half ITEM I bequeath to the same John a bowl of silver with a Falcon (6) weighing 34 ounces and one half ITEM I bequeath to the same John a cup called a Nut (7) with a foot garnished (8) with silver gilt weighing 20 ounces ITEM I bequeath to the same John a saltcellar for salt of silver and parcel gilt (5) weighing 22 ounces and more ITEM I bequeath to the same John one dozen silver spoons weighing 12 ounces ITEM I bequeath to the aforesaid Thomas Hore my son a bowl of silver and gilt weighing 24 ounces ITEM I bequeath to the same Thomas a cup with a foot of silver and parcel gilt with a rabbit standing (9) upon the said cup weighing 28 ounces and one half ITEM I bequeath to the same Thomas a cup called a Nut with a foot and cover garnished with silver gilt weighing 19 ounces and one half ITEM I bequeath to the same Thomas a saltcellar for salt of silver and parcel gilt weighing 20 ounces ITEM I bequeath to the aforesaid Thomas my Blue cloak trimmed with marten (10), my powdered Crimson (11) lined cloak and my Scarlet cap (12) ITEM I bequeath to Agnes my wife a bowl of silver with a foot and half parcel gilt weighing 23 ounces and 3 quarters ITEM I bequeath to the same Agnes four bowls called Chased pieces with a cover of silver and parcel gilt weighing 69 ounces and one half ITEM I bequeath to the same Agnes 2 saltcellars for salt

<sup>1</sup> The figures in parenthesis (1) refer to the Notes following this translation.



with a cover of silver both weighing 19 ounces and one half  
ITEM I bequeath to the same Agnes two small bowls of silver and gilt both weighing 11 ounces and more ITEM I bequeath to the same Agnes two cups called Nuts with a foot and garnished with silver and gilt weighing 40 ounces  
ITEM I bequeath to the same Agnes a cup called a Maser (13) with a foot garnished with silver and gilt weighing 16 ounces and one half ITEM I bequeath to the same Agnes one dozen and one half silver spoons weighing 18 ounces  
ITEM I bequeath to the same Agnes a pomander (14) of silver and two forks for green ginger weighing 11 ounces  
ITEM I bequeath to the same Agnes my great Murra (15) called St. John's head weighing 14 ounces ITEM I bequeath to the same Agnes a flat Murra weighing 7 ounces  
ITEM I bequeath to the same Agnes all of my household goods (16) that is to say in the rooms in the cupboards and in the kitchen with all appertaining to the same and also 13 tods (17) of wool and three gail measures (18) ITEM I will that my cup called the wodefate (*Wood Fay* ? 19) weighing 43 ounces and one half and another cup of mine with a foot called the Mermaid weighing 34 ounces and one half with another cup of mine with a foot (*and*) with a tower on the cover of the same weighing 26 ounces and one half with two dishes called spice dishes of silver and gilt both weighing 28 ounces with a cup called a Nut garnished with silver and gilt and weighing 20 ounces and more with a chased bowl called the Rose with a cover of silver weighing 19 ounces and 3 quarters shall be sold by my executors to the best advantage of their knowledge or ability and that the money Received for the same shall procure a suitable priest to celebrate (*Mass*) in the church of the holy cross of the Temple aforesaid at the altar of St. Thomas in the same for my soul and the souls of Robert Russell Clemente Bagotte and William Weston also for the soul of Johanna my wife for the space of three years next after my death the remainder and surplusage of the same after payment of the said priest my debts first after that being paid shall be distributed at the wisdom and discretion of my executors in works of charity where there is most need for (*the good of*) my soul and the souls aforesaid ITEM I will that six full bags of wool and 1 pipe of ale (20) containing 16 measures shall be sold by my executors and that with the money so received my debts shall be paid by them ITEM I will that five of my pots of the largest (21) and one of my great dishes and a little dish of latten (22) of the best as well as a weighing beam with 2 scales belonging to the same and also 500 weight of lead shall be sold by my executors and that the money for

the same shall be gradually distributed in charitable works where there is most need for (*the good of*) my soul and the souls of all the dead in the faith ITEM I will that two of my gold rings called the signets shall be sold by my executors to the best advantage of their knowledge and with the money received I will that they put out sufficient linen cloth called Crestecloth and have made of the same Nightgowns and smocks for the poor and distribute the same in alms for (*the good of*) my soul at their discretion ITEM I bequeath to Johanna my daughter a Murra on a foot weighing 7 ounces and five silver spoons and a blood-colored cloak trimmed with Badger (*fur*) (23) and two yards of Black lire (24) to make herself a kirtle and in good money 20 shillings sterling ITEM I bequeath to John Fareway fuller (25) 6<sup>s</sup> 8<sup>d</sup> sterling ITEM I bequeath to the (*Council*) Chamber of the city of Bristoll for the keeping of their records my GREAT CHEST BOUND WITH IRON THE Remainder of all my goods Jewels and chattels not above bequeathed after the payment of my debts and my funeral done and ended I give and bequeath to my executors underwritten to be disposed for (*the good of*) my soul in pious uses and works of charity as to them may seem best for the pleasure of God and the health of my soul AND I make order and constitute my executors of this testament my son John Hore and John Gourney Burgess and brewer of the city of Bristoll and I bequeath to the said John Gourney for his labor to be had in the premises 26<sup>s</sup> 8<sup>d</sup> Also I constitute the aforesaid vicar of the church of the holy cross of the temple aforesaid supervisor of my said testament.

In witness of which thing I have affixed my seal (26) to the foregoing testament Dated at Bristoll the day and year above written

The above written testament was proved at Lambeth the 17<sup>th</sup> day of the month of July in the Year of our lord one thousand 400 sixty six and approved etc. AND Administration was granted of all and singular of the goods of the said deceased to John Hoore the executor named in the said testament to well and faithfully administer the said goods and also to make a full inventory of the said goods etc. before the feast of saint Martin<sup>1</sup> which will be in the next coming Winter (27) etc. and also (*render*) a full account etc. sworn with power Reserved (*to the other executor*) etc. etc.

PREROGATIVE COURT OF CANTERBURY

Registered Book GODYN, folio 14

## NOTES.

1. The Church of the Holy Cross of the Temple, now called simply the Temple Church, is a fine old structure on Temple Street, Bristol, near the Temple Meade Railway Station, which was erected by the Knights Templars about 1145, much added to in the 15th century, and used as a Parish Church since their dissolution.

2. The Cathedral Church of St. Andrew at Wells, within the jurisdiction of which Bristol then lay.

3. *Commorantis*, from *commoror*, to stop, tarry, abide. I have usually found it employed in Monkish Latin in the sense of dwelling.

4. Wotton *under Egge*, often so written for *under Edge*, an ancient town which claims a prescriptive incorporation under a charter of Henry III. It lies about 14 miles northeast of Bristol.

5. *Crater argent. et deaurat.*, a bowl of silver *entirely* gilded, as distinguished from *in pte. deaurat.*, i. e. parcel-gilt or only partially so, as in the third bequest below.

6. *Fawcon* should undoubtedly be translated Falcon, probably being chased or engraved on the vessel and in all likelihood heraldic, in which view I am supported by the fact that the Arms of Hoare of Gloucestershire were "An eagle displayed," a bearing characteristic of most of the armigerous families of the name in England and indicating a remote common ancestor for all.

7. *Ciphum vocat a Notte*. A cup called a Notte or Nutt, a small drinking vessel or urn with a foot, resembling a goblet. See an example in *Testamenta Vetusta* by N. H. Nicholas, page 365. I have translated *stant.* as "*with a foot*" in all cases, as more clear in its meaning than "*standing*," which is certainly the more literal rendering.

8. *Hernisat.*, i. e. *harnesiatus*—harnessed or, as we should say, *gar-nished* with silver.

9. I take this to have been the figure of a rabbit raised or erect (*stant.*) on the cover (although no cover is mentioned), to serve as a handle, as is frequently seen in both ancient and modern silver ware.

10. *Martrons*, i. e. *marteron*, the fur of a marten. See *Test. Vetust.* page 658; see also inventory in *Archæologia*, xxx., 17.

11. *Engrayned*, this is defined, under the spelling of "engreyned" by both Wright and Halliwell as "powdered," and I so translate it. I suppose that the cloak was crimson, powdered or flecked with white or perhaps spangles.

12. *Tema*, an evident error for *tena*, a coif or cap.

13. *Maser*, the old form of *Mazer*, a bowl of wood, probably made originally of maple wood (whence the name), and rimmed with silver or other metal. It was usually without a foot, which does not seem to have been the case with this bequest.

"Bring here, he said, the mazers four,  
My noble fathers loved of yore."

—W. Scott, "Lord of the Isles," C. v., v. 34.

14. *Powderpire*. This word I was inclined to translate "spice-box," but my friend, Mr. J. Challoner Smith, recent Superintendent of the Search Room at Somerset House, reads it as *powder-pece*, meaning a pomander or lady's powder box.

15. *Murra*, a precious stone, probably fluorspar, always referred to as of great value. See a very full definition and derivation of same in the *Cent. Dict.*

16. *Utensilia*, while properly to be defined as utensils or articles of use or necessity, is here probably intended to cover all household goods, furniture, etc.

17. Tod, an old measure of weight, mostly used for wool, of about two stone, or twenty-eight pounds, but differing in different localities.

18. *Gaid* I take to be a misconception for *gail*, a brewing or wort tub, *cf.* ale, from which it is probably derived.

19. *Woodfate*. This is a term which I have never met with before and I would suggest, with some diffidence, that a wood nymph or fay may be intended, *cf.* *Fata Morgana*, or Morgana the fay, at that period so popular in British folk lore. I am the more inclined to this belief from the next cup being called the Mermaid, as they were no doubt a pair with representations of the spirits of sea and shore.

20. In this case I am inclined to translate the word "*gaid*," above referred to (note 18), as the *drink* rather than the vessel in which it is brewed, or it may be that it was intended that a gail or brewing vat itself was to be sold, with or without its contents.

21. Olla, a pot or jar. At that period brass, copper and even iron pots were much valued and appear frequently as legacies and directed to be handed down as heirlooms.

22. *Laton*, *i. e.* Latten, a metal often misread as tin, but resembling brass. See an elaborate definition in Cent. Dict. See Chaucer, Cant. Tales, 701; Piers' Ploughman, 7, 462. Shakespeare is said to have given Ben. Jonson's son, his godson, a dozen latten spoons and told him he should translate them. See Halliwell's Arch. Dict.

23. Gray, a badger or the fur of a badger.

24. Lire was a rich and costly fabric manufactured in the 15th century. It occurs as blackalire, greenalire, etc., for attention to which I have again to thank my friend Mr. J. Challoner Smith. Halliwell, Nares and Wright ignore it, but see Cent. Dict.

25. *Touker* is probably intended for *tucker*, a fuller, as I have translated it, but it is possible that *toucher*, an archer, may have been meant.

26. *Camera*, *i. e.* chamber, I have translated as council, *i. e.* the Council Chamber of the City of Bristol, although it is barely possible that the abbreviation may have been designed for *camerarius* or chamberlain. In either event the meaning of the bequest is obvious, and the great chest still remains, a highly prized relic of the past, in the possession of the city authorities and is to be placed in the Bristol Room of the new museum now building there.

27. It is most unfortunate that the original of this interesting will no longer exists, so that we are unable to obtain this impression of the testator's seal.

28. *Yeme* is evidently an error for *hieme*, winter.

#### LETTER FROM THE TRANSLATOR.

At the request of Senator Hoar I have had pleasure in making a translation, as literal as possible, of the very interesting will of his remote ancestor, Thomas Hore, Burgess of Bristol and sometime Bailiff and Sheriff there, who died between April and July of the year 1466, with annotations of the more difficult or obscure passages in the same, which will enable the lay reader to follow the text intelligently.

The will (or rather will *and* testament, as it treats of both real and personal property), is written throughout

in the debased or Monkish Latin of the Middle Ages, interspersed with English words where the scribe's vocabulary failed him. This scribe was, in all probability, the unnamed Vicar of the Church of Holy Cross, the spiritual father of the testator, that being the usual custom of the time, when few except the clergy could write even their names. It is probable that Thomas Hore could not, in spite of his wealth and position, as the document is sealed only and not signed, although this may have arisen from his moribund condition at the making of it.

The absence of witnesses is also noteworthy as characteristic of the loose legal methods prevailing, and was a common feature. In many cases where there was a testing clause, it would read simply "*Et multis alijs testibz*" or "Many other witnesses" (besides the scribe), the actual names seeming to be regarded as superfluous.

The very date of this document must give us a pause of respect—a generation before the discovery of America and in the midst of the turbulent period of the Civil Wars (one would like to know whether the ornament on the bowl "*vocat le Rose*" were Red or White!)—it must carry the birth of the testator back to the reign of Henry IV. and nearly or quite a half millenium from our own times.

The most striking feature of the will is the large quantity—for those days the immense quantity—of plate bequeathed; an invariable index of the wealth and social position of the testator. One of the first and evidently among the most highly prized of these is the "bowl with a Falcon" given to his eldest son and heir. My friend, Mr. J. Challoner Smith, agrees with me in believing this to be heraldic, and it is noteworthy that the arms of Hoare of Gloucestershire are "Sable, an *Eagle* displayed within a bordure engrailed Argent," and, with variations of tinctures, this charge is found on the coat of nearly every armigerous family of the name in England and Ireland, seeming to point to a common ancestor for all at a very remote period, perhaps the Sir William le Hore, one of the Normans who invaded Ireland in 1170.

Among the plate may also be remarked the "two forks for green ginger," being the earliest mention of a fork with which I have ever met in an English will. Their use at the table there was unknown until the reign of

Queen Elizabeth, whose inventory<sup>1</sup> shows her to have had no less than three of them, but, from their bejeweled and ornamental character, probably more for show than service. They did not come into general use in England until towards the middle of the 17th century.

The garments lined and trimmed with furs give another and no uncertain indication of the affluent condition of this worthy Burgess, as do also the costly "Murras" or ornaments of fluorspar, then greatly prized, and of which he leaves two to his wife and one to his daughter. This wife was his second, the first, Johanna, being probably the mother of his children, as the daughter bore her name and no reference is made to the later wife as mother of any of them.

From the bequests I draw the conclusion that Thomas Hore was engaged in brewing, and also traded largely in wool, as did all the merchants at that time. The John Gourney, brewer, who was co-executor with the son, was probably a business partner. John Fareway, fuller, was perhaps a valued customer. John Hore, the son, residing or being in London, may have been in charge of his father's affairs in the metropolis.

The connection with the deceased Robert Russell, Clement Bagott and William Weston is not apparent; one or other of them may have been father of either or both of his wives, the other or others maternal ancestors or benefactors. Perhaps one was his master when an apprentice, a customary tribute of gratitude and affection. It is somewhat singular that, with his evident piety, he makes no provision for the souls of his parents and leads us to the conclusion that this was probably done during his lifetime.

Of all the many legacies in the will, one alone has, so far as we are aware, come down to our own times. I refer to the great oaken treasure chest bequeathed to the City of Bristol, and which remains to this day, a valued memorial, among the possessions of the municipality, as exemplified by Senator Hoar's most interesting paper read at the October meeting of the Society.

I cannot close these remarks without a word of thanks to Mr. J. Challoner Smith, the recent courteous and helpful

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<sup>1</sup> See Nichols's, "Progresses."

Superintendent of the Literary Search Room at Somerset House, to whom I referred two or three readings regarding which I was in doubt, and to whose unrivalled abilities as a scholar I owe their solution, and to Senator Hoar for the privilege of making this translation for the Society.

J. HENRY LEA,

Elmlea, South Freeport, Maine.

23 June, 1904.

CORRESPONDENCE.

UNITED STATES CONSULATE.

BRISTOL, 15th September, 1903.

Dear SENATOR HOAR:—

I fear that there is not the slightest chance of being able to carry out your wishes with regard to the chest. When I took your first letter over to Mr. Tremayne Lane, the City Treasurer (to whose courtesy we owe the prompt and successful search), the first thing that he said to me almost, was this:—"If we should find this chest, Mr. Lathrop, I suppose there will be no danger of our being asked to give it up." I practically pledged myself that the City should not be asked for it.

No sooner had it been discovered, than the Lord Mayor heard of our quest. At his desire, this interesting relic, doubly interesting now because it had a history, was promptly disinterred from its burial place in the attic, and placed in the Mayor's Parlor. It was pointed out to his lordship that the worms in the chest might get into the new oak of the parlor, whereupon it was removed to a conspicuous place in the main hall. Senator Bard will tell you that he saw it there. He went with me to the Council House one day to look at the interesting manuscript records and regalia.

As there is now special reason for believing the chest to have belonged to one who was associated in the Municipal Government with William Canynges, there is an added local interest. The maritime supremacy of this man, and the grand monument he built for himself in constructing Redcliffe Church, endear him to Bristolians. It may perhaps be said that he added a more brilliant lustre to the annals of Bristol than any other single citizen has added.

Your request is couched in terms of such extreme delicacy that I feel that I must transmit it to the authorities. It is just within the limits of possibility that they may consider your suggestion. They have several volumes of mediæval records which have never been translated or printed. They are sealed books. An offer of a contribution towards the expense of doing with these as has already been done with Ricart's Kalender, and with the little "Red Book," might perhaps tempt the authorities. I am not however hopeful.

I do not think that any expert has as yet examined the chest, but I shall promptly let you know if any opinions are expressed by those qualified to utter them.

I am, with high regard,

Very respectfully yours,

LORIN A. LATHROP.

UNITED STATES CONSULATE.

BRISTOL, September 25th, 1903.

Dear SENATOR HOAR:

I enclose the final decision of the authorities, in regard to the chest. I expect that you were prepared for the decision, from the tenor of my former letter.

Bristol is more tenacious of its mediæval associations than any place I have ever known.

If I can be of any further service to you at any time, either personally or officially, please command me.

I am,

Very respectfully yours,

LORIN A. LATHROP.

The Honorable

George F. Hoar.

THE COUNCIL HOUSE, BRISTOL,  
CITY TREASURER'S OFFICE.

25th Sept., 1903.

Dear Sir:

*Ancient Chest.*

I have to thank you for sending me a copy of Senator Hoar's interesting letter.

Having had an opportunity of consulting with the Lord Mayor, I am desired by him to say that while it is easy to understand the desire of Senator Hoar to possess such a relic connected with his family's history, on behalf of the Corporation he could not consent to part with it on any terms.

It will be satisfactory to Senator Hoar to know however that the chest is destined to occupy a prominent place in the "Bristol Room" which is to be a chief feature in the New Museum Buildings rapidly approaching completion.

Yours faithfully,

J. TREMAYNE LANE,

*City Treasurer.*

LORIN A. LATHROP, Esqre.,  
United States Consul,  
Bristol



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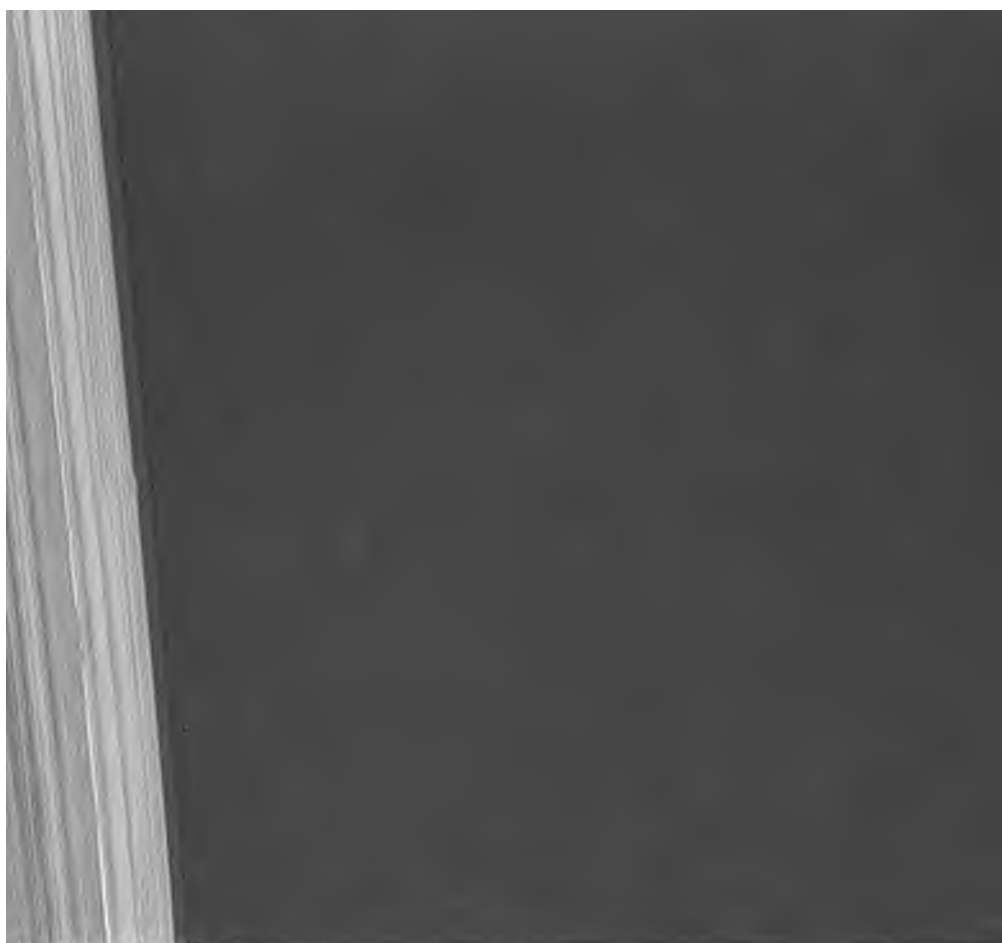
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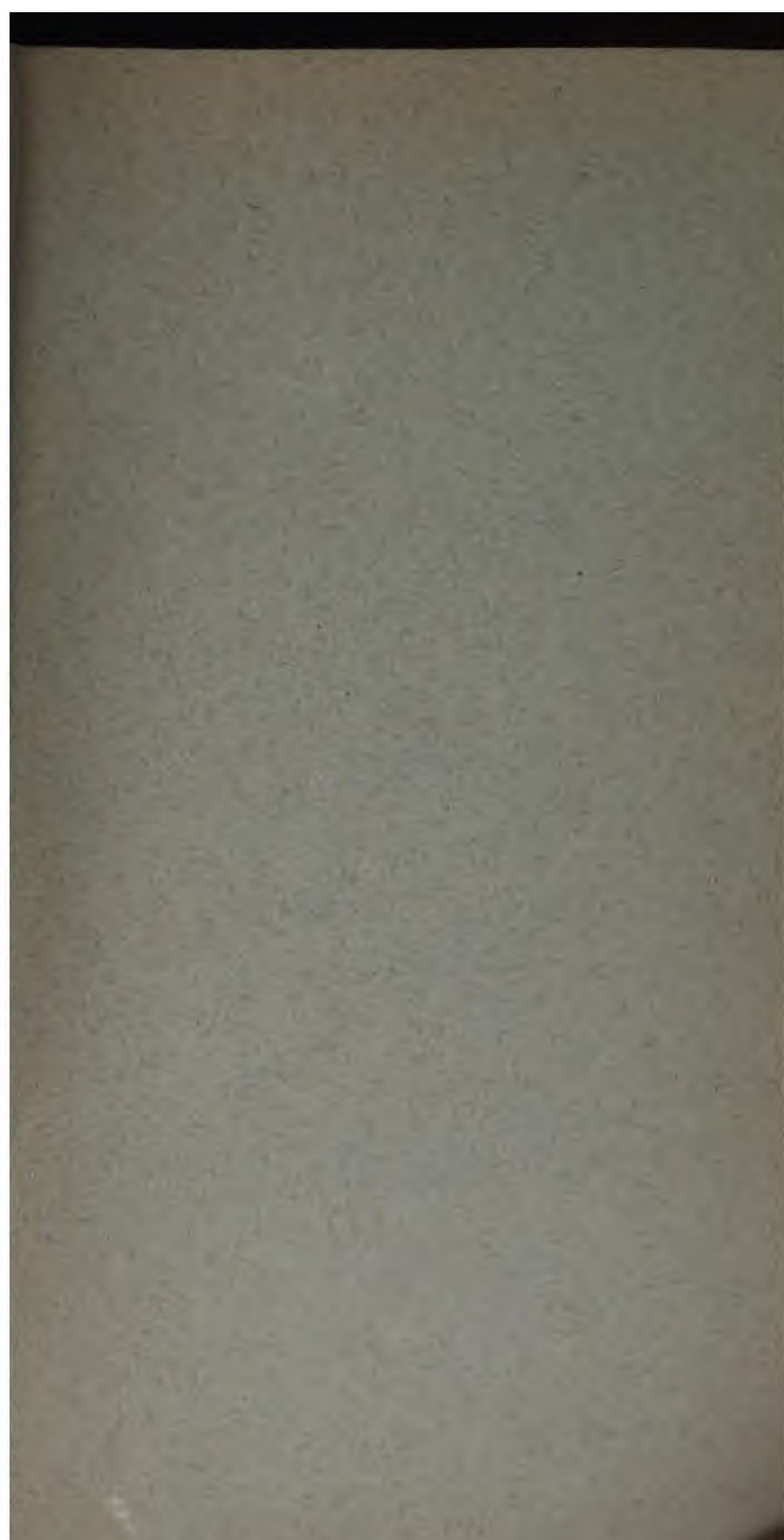
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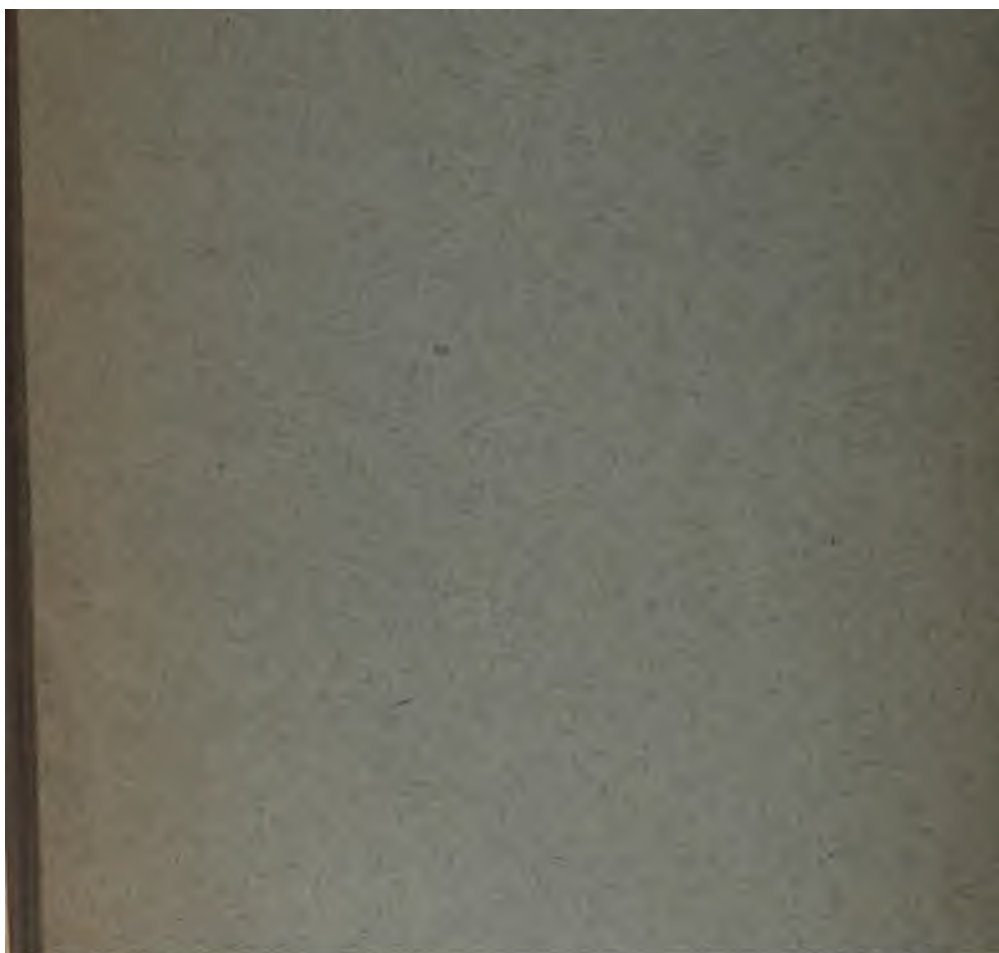
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